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THE MONTHLY ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

FIVE FORECASTS FOR THE 1980's

SPECIAL

10TH

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ISSUE

POWER & LEADERSHIP IN CALIFORNIA

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Personal
PERSPECTIVE

By Ed Salzman

Mission for the '80s

California's public-works mission for the 1980s should be the development of a comprehensive rapid-transit network for Southern California and the termination of the comedy of errors that has prevented the Bay Area Rapid Transit system from functioning effectively from day one.

Back in 1973, Tom Bradley pledged that he would build a mass transit system for Los Angeles if he were elected mayor. Now deep into Bradley's second term, relatively little progress has been made and Southern California commuters are still on the automobile standard. There have been many reasons for Los Angeles' failure to combat smog and the energy shortage with a modern rail system. There have been political conflicts, arguments over routes and voter reluctance to provide funds.

One of the reasons for the delay has been the failure of the BART system to fulfill its promise to become the most advanced, most efficient commuter train network in the world. (Honestly, that's how BART was described in election propaganda when the transit district's financing plan went before the voters.) Those who ride BART claim that it is a marvelous mode of transportation — when it works. But there have been work stoppages, train-control system bugs, a fire in the trans-Bay tunnel, train breakdowns, and a variety of other mishaps. BART is an example to the world of how a new rapid transit system should not be built. And Los Angeles should be learning from the Bay Area's errors, not duplicating them. Among many, here are three prime lessons to be learned from the BART fiasco:

- ***Don't build a patchwork, piecemeal system*** and hope that all the pieces will fit together. The mass transit network for the entire Southern metropolis should be developed by a single agency, and all the trains and buses in the region should be under a single command. Some means must be found to place the overall movement of people ahead of the selfish interests of any one area.
- ***Employ tried-and-true technology.*** BART developed its system as though it were sending rockets to the moom instead of working stiffs from bedroom communities to business centers. The Bay Area and the city of Munich started building their rail systems at about the same time and at about the same cost. Munich didn't use untried technology and the system has been growing rapidly.
- ***Don't sell out to the labor unions.*** In an effort to guarantee labor support for BART, the transit district gave the unions a sweetheart of a deal. As a result, BART pays the highest salaries of any transit system in the country and has more workers than are needed to run the railroad. Fair wages obviously must be paid, but featherbedding and frequent work stoppages should be prevented.

It is entirely possible that the Los Angeles area cannot solve its transportation and smog problems with the current division of responsibility between cities, counties, special districts, the state and the federal government. An efficient regional transit system will not be built through the search for consensus or with every agency doing its own thing. Some one agency must be given the money and the responsibility.

The availability of funds is inevitable. The gasoline crisis eventually will force the state and federal governments to provide the Los Angeles area with the dollars to build a system, regardless of the cost. Los Angeles' task is to build a London Underground or a Paris Metro instead of another BART.

California Journal

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Somebody ought to arrange a debate between Jerry Brown and Ken Cory. The question: Who is really "the man the oil companies fear most?"

The state controller, incidentally, is already attempting to line up important Democratic politicians from throughout the state for his 1982 Cory-for-governor campaign.

Carol Hallett, the Assembly Republican leader, is probably the most vocal critic of the state's new pesticide regulations. Her husband, Jim, is the head of the agricultural chemical industry association.

This could be the year of the breakup of San Francisco's brother team in Congress. The Republicans are mounting a major campaign to defeat John Burton in November. The GOP hopeful is Dennis McQuaid, a 40-year-old attorney who is already campaigning on a full-time basis. He hopes to walk every precinct in the district, which Burton has carried handily in recent elections. (Older brother Phil always wins by enormous margins.)

Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles is starting a new career as the trailblazing black on the boards of directors of major California corporations. Already on the Wells Fargo board, he will add Pacific Gas and Electric this year. Riles is leaving no doubt that he means it when he says he will not seek another term.

Common comment among political insiders in Sacramento: FBI agents investigating alleged corruption among legislators acted more like Keystone Kops than sophisticated sleuths.

Private polls show that the early leader in the 1982 contest for governor is Secretary of State March Fong Eu.

Gag that surfaced after Republican moneybags were opened to 67-year-old Paul Gann for a GOP primary campaign for the United States Senate: "Gann would make the ideal seatmate for Senator Sam Hayakawa. They could sleep on each other's shoulders."

Table of CONTENTS

10th Anniversary Issue

This is the 121st month of the *Journal's* existence — and in it we pause briefly to recall how we got to be 10 years old. It wasn't easy, as Publisher Tom Hoeber explains inside. Other special features of this expanded issue: a 10-page section on California in the '80s; a survey of the state's power elite; and a look at leaders for the new decade.

Five perspectives on the '80s 5

Sacramento: Not much fun
By Martin Smith

Washington: Lair of the lightweights
By Leo Rennert

Los Angeles: The political comers
By Michele Willens

San Francisco Bay Area: A gay mayor?
By Jerry Burns

San Diego: Wilson, Wilson and Wilson
By Donald Harrison

California's power elite 15
By Hal Rubin and Pat Washburn Rubin

Leadership's meager remains 23
By Ed Salzman

Rise, fall and rise of the *Journal* 27
By Thomas R. Hoeber

Beautiful for business 32
By Vic Pollard
Last year's session was be-kind-to-business time; now the Legislature faces several tough decisions in an election year.

The cloud of Jarvis II 35
By Maureen Fitzgerald

The 'old girls' network' 37
By Chuck Buxton

The Kentucky dervish 40
By Katherine Rusk
Dr. Dale Farabee is learning the hard way that California's mental health problems surpass those in the bluegrass state.

Several illustrators who have contributed significantly to the Journal's artistic development are represented in this issue: Ric Hügo, Don Hair, Tom Zanze, Donna Rivers, Lee Judge, Steven Greenberg and Steve Johnson.

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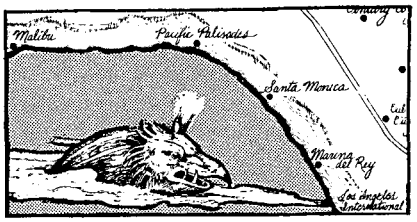
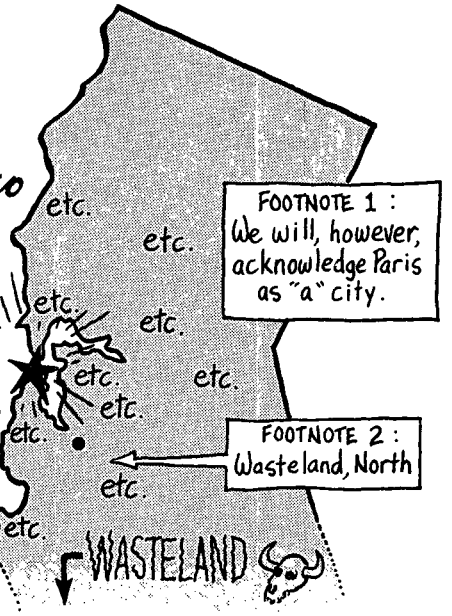
THE CALIFORNIA VIEW

REGIONALISM LIVES! YOU CAN ALWAYS TELL A MAP OF So. CALIFORNIA DRAWN BY A NORTHERN CALIFORNIAN BY THE MANDATORY SEA MONSTER LURKING OFF L.A.! WHAT'S THE REAL CALIFORNIA VIEW? IT ALL DEPENDS UPON YOUR PERSPECTIVE . . .

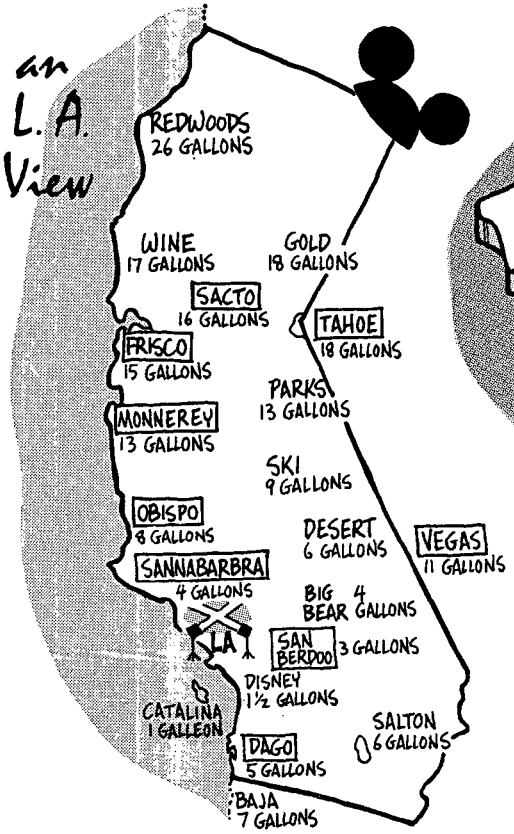


(FROM SEPT. '79 ISSUE OF CALIF. JOURNAL)

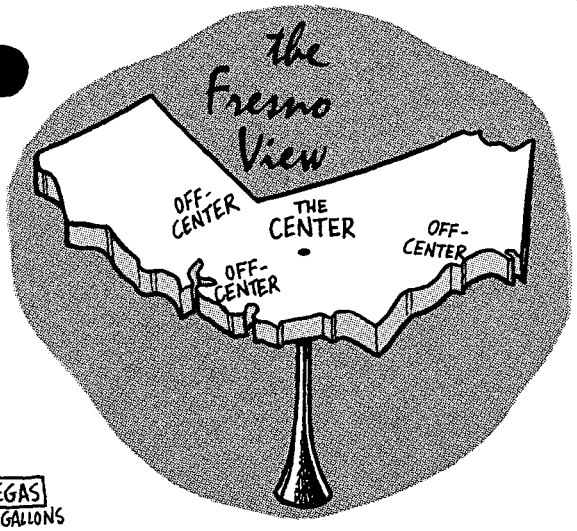
the San Francisco View



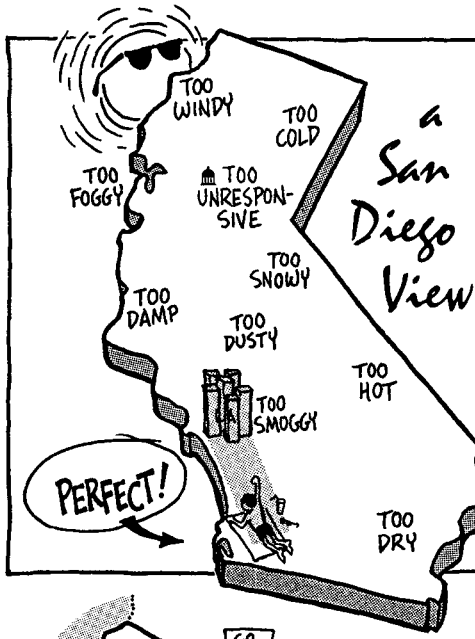
an L.A. View



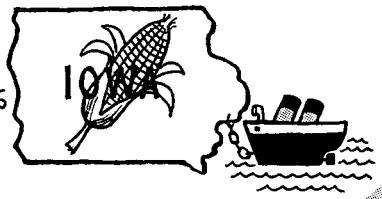
the Fresno View



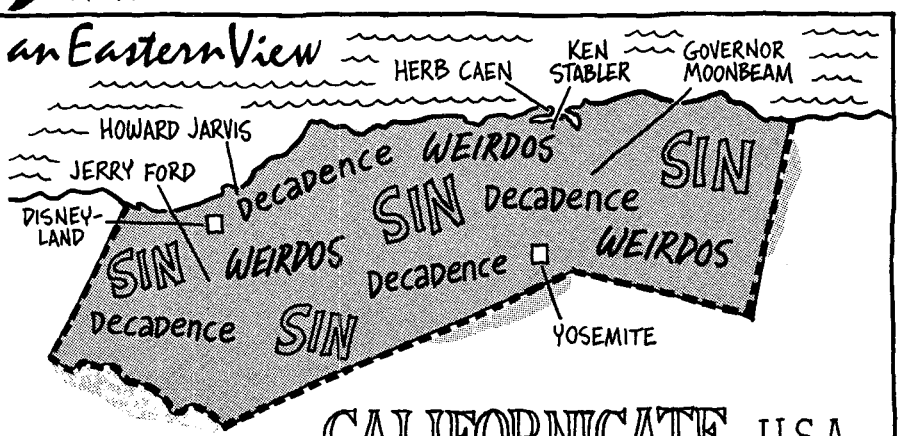
a San Diego View



LONG BEACH as seen by LOS ANGELES



GREENBERG — an Eastern View



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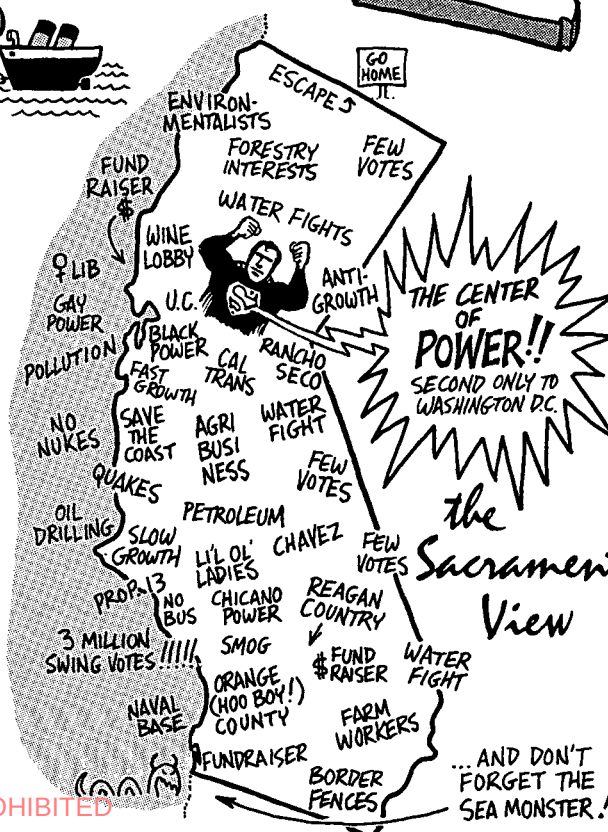
UNACCEPTABLE AREAS

ACCEPTABLE AREAS

EARTHQUAKE ZONE

FUTURE BEACH

the Sacramento View



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Five forecasts of

California politics in the 1980s

The decade of the 1970s in California politics belonged to Ronald Reagan and Jerry Brown, Howard Jarvis and Rose Bird, the environmental movement and political reform, the rise of women and the proliferation of initiatives.

What will be the issues and who will be the individuals dominating the state's political arena in the 1980s? How will the state cope with such problems as the shortage of energy, restricted government revenues, the escalating cost of housing, the cry for additional water supplies for Southern California, and the growing confrontation between public employees and governmental entities?

Who will emerge as the new leaders of both political parties? Will it be those now climbing the political success ladder, or will new figures emerge from the entertainment industry to leap over the professional politicians? Will California finally become a force commensurate with its representation in the nation's Capitol?

Which minorities will push ahead and which will fall behind during this decade? Will the state's huge Hispanic population finally enter the political mainstream? Will women attain political parity? Will the Democrats maintain political control, or will the Republicans regain power?

These are among the questions that are explored in the following crystal-ball analyses from some of California's most experienced political writers. Each is taking a foward view of political California from a different geographical perspective. Martin Smith is the Sacramento-based political editor of the McClatchy Newspapers. Leo Rennert is the Washington correspondent for the McClatchy Newspapers and regular Washington columnist for the Journal. *Jerry Burns is the city editor (and former political editor) of the* San Francisco Chronicle. *Michele Willens is a free-lance writer who covers the Los Angeles political scene for the* Journal. *Donald H. Harrison writes politics for the* San Diego Union.

The view from Sacramento

Don't expect the '80s to be much fun

By MARTIN SMITH

Forecasting California politics is an exercise undertaken seriously only by the foolhardy. It's impossible. Who, in 1969, would have predicted a Mike Curb as the ranking Republican state officeholder? Or have thought that a Howard Jarvis would be first in the hearts of his fellow Californians? It's difficult enough describing where we have been and where we are now without trying to say where we will be five to 10 years from now. Forecasts are like comic strips — principally to be regarded as entertainment. The entertainment tends to become more slapstick as events unfold and reveal how far the forecasts are off the mark.

Yet forecasts do have at least a marginal value when, either in making them or considering them, we look harder not only at the future but at the present. Perhaps forecasting can force us to face questions we have been trying too hard to avoid, out of fear that the only possible answers are unthinkable. The example which comes most quickly to mind is the grim, multi-faceted problem the United States has with Mexico — a neighbor rich in oil but cursed with a corrupt ruling class and also with a poverty-stricken and rapidly expanding population which, by spilling over its northern borders, threatens the economic and social equilibrium of California and, to lesser degrees, other states. The act of forecasting can become more important than the actual predictions which they produce.

Braced for change

The same forces shaping our national politics over the next decade will be the principal ones molding policy discussions and voter decisions in California — jobs, inflation and perhaps, before the decade is finished, deflation, too; housing; immigration; criminal justice; dwindling natural resources; race and energy. Especially energy, which will be the problem affecting all other problems. In California the problems will be the same; the effects, however, are likely to be magnified.

The energy shortage already has accomplished this much: Californians are

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braced for change. They know that the 1980s will be a watershed decade in their lives and their politics, just as the 1930s were. In 1979, we knew it was inevitable — in some form. But 10 years from now we still are likely to find that we were surprised, not only by unexpected turns taken by the forces of change but even more by the velocity of that change. We think we are ready for it, but it will prove so rapid that trauma is unavoidable.

The success and prosperity enjoyed by the United States, in general, and California, in particular, have been historical accident, resulting more from the availability of cheap energy than from anything else. The party is now over, and the decade of truth is upon us. Energy problems will dominate the political discussions and compound all our other difficulties. Before the 1980s are completed, the question of whether Los Angeles can survive as a city when there is an insufficient supply of 45-cent-a-gallon gasoline will no longer be an academic one. By 1990 Los Angeles will be well on its way to surpassing New York and Cleveland as the nation's most troubled big city. It sold its soul to the automobile and has no easy way out of the bargain. The only good news for Los Angelenos 10 years from now is that the air over their troubled communities may well be cleaner, but they could be too angry and embittered to notice.

The sternness of the stuff of Californians will be measured in their politics. The state will swing to the right, but the character of the soon-to-be-dominant conservatism remains in doubt and poses the crucial political question of the decade. The swing already is under way, a fact which will become more apparent with the 1980 election results. Tainting that conservatism and yet making it a more formidable force than any resurgency of the right of the last half-century will be an increasingly dangerous streak of populism fired by the public's anger over the loss of cheap energy.

GOP dominance

The Republicans again will become the dominant party, controlling both houses of the Legislature and holding most of the statewide offices before the decade is half-gone. The key political struggles within California will take place inside the state GOP. Moderates, their numbers enlarged by recruits from Democratic ranks, will make an important comeback in this approaching post-Ronald Reagan era of California Republicanism. The moderate renaissance will hardly be slowed even if Reagan is elected president next November. The very circumstances of his 1980 campaign successes would add the luster of respectability to California's moderate Republicans. Reagan, as the frontrunner this time, no longer has to seek to defeat a favorite by sounding more conservative themes and appealing to naked ideology over party unity. He appreciates political moderation as never before. Even Charley Black, Reagan's associate campaign director whose right-wing credentials include leadership posts in Young Americans for Freedom and a founding role with the National Conservative Political Action Committee, is referring these days to his leader as a "moderate conservative." No wonder Meldrim Thomson has jumped ship.

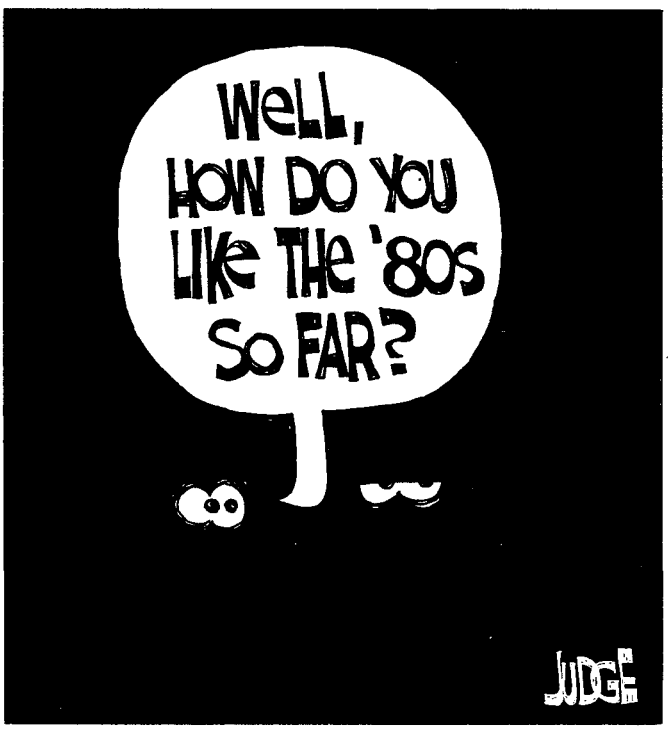

ILLUSTRATION BY LEE JUDGE

California's moderate Republicans also will be assisted when an arm of the eastern GOP establishment, the very capable New York and Washington-based campaign consulting team of Doug Bailey and John Deardourff, sets up a major branch shop in Sacramento sometime before 1982. Bailey-Deardourff has enjoyed a high success rate in electing generally moderate Republicans in the East and Midwest. The firm has made one impressive foray into California already. In 1978 Deardourff almost overnight turned Ken Maddy into a formidable, if ultimately unsuccessful, candidate for the Republican nomination for governor. The importance of Bailey-Deardourff moving west should not be discounted.

The state GOP's right wing won't easily relinquish the hold it has had on the party. The New Right or Radical Republicans — led in the Legislature by Senator H. L. Richardson and the conservative newcomers his political action committees helped elect to the Assembly in 1978 — will enjoy major successes, especially in the criminal justice field. Part of the public's anger over the straitened circumstances of the 1980s will be vented in strengthening the powers of police officers. The death penalty law will be greatly broadened without much interference from a judiciary which will bow to the wishes of an increasingly angry public. Capital punishment will be applied with increasing frequency as the decade moves towards its close.

If California's more moderate and pragmatic politicians are viewed as failing to deal effectively with problems related to illegal immigration from Mexico, the Radical Republicans will have another popular issue with which to gain votes.

What could prove to be the decisive force for moderation among Republicans could be the growing power of corporate political action committees, such as United For California, which put a premium on pragmatism over ideology. Big business in California is moving to take over the role which the Chandler family of the *Los Angeles Times* once exercised as viceroys of the state GOP.

A California Republican Party professional campaign leader, lamenting the generally sorry performances of GOP legislative candidates in the 1960s and 1970s, once privately complained: "The Republican Party here hasn't been right since the *Los Angeles Times* quit running it."

It wasn't that his basic political views were much different from some of the ideologues who controlled the party at the time he made his complaint. But while well over to the right, he did understand the value of a pragmatic approach to elections and government. For all their conservatism, the Chandlers did, too. They made ideological considerations secondary to those of good business. Good business required effective, essentially moderate government free of the ideological blinders which followers of the Goldwater revolution of 1964 always have wanted to impose. When Otis Chandler abdicated for his family the leadership role it once held

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among California Republicans, the interests of good journalism were served, but he helped bring about hard times for GOP moderates.

The Democrats' role

Over on the left, the Democratic Party, as it loses conservative and moderate elements to the Republicans, will sink into the role of the minority party. In so doing, the party will move more under the influence of the radical left, typified, for the moment, by Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda. Out of power, the Democrats' chief role for the rest of the century will be in the distillation of ideas for social and economic change. The party will be a poor vehicle for political advancement, a realization Leo McCarthy is likely to make at the latest in November 1982. The lesson probably will have to be repeated through more than one election defeat for Jerry Brown, but we'll know that he has learned it when he re-registers Republican, another possibility for the late 1980s. It probably won't do him much good, though — we'll know, too, when he realizes that: He'll show it when he marries a nice Catholic girl, 15 or 20 years younger than he, and settles down to the practice of law just like Leo McCarthy.

For all of the enhanced power of the left within the California Democratic Party, Tom Hayden probably won't be in the driver's seat. He is likely to become isolated as more members of the Campaign for Economic Democrary question his overly authoritarian leadership.

The question of Mexican immigration will prove especially vexing for the Democratic left. The border with the United States will become even more important as Mexico's safety valve for relieving economic and social pressures. But with the economy waning in the United States, illegal immigration will aggravate economic and social problems here. The left eventually will have to choose between the erection of a Berlin Wall to keep Mexicans out or the establishment of some system much like the old *bracero* program to allow a greater measure of control over the flow of Mexican workers to the United States.

Racial, ethnic and cultural conflicts will increase without such control. The animosity between blacks and browns will prove especially dangerous as those on the lower economic rungs scramble to maintain their precarious positions. Relations between blacks and whites, on the other hand, may improve despite the complications caused by another immigration problem — the increased flow of the poor and elderly to California's warm climate and away from the colder East and the soaring prices and shortages of heating oil. An up-from-the-ghetto conservatism among middle-class blacks will become more important.

California will survive the 1980s which will be one of the most politically interesting decades of the century. Just don't expect it to be a lot of fun.

The view from Washington

Lair of the California lightweights

By LEO RENNERT

The 1980s ought to be a bullish time for California's political stock in the nation's capital. The most populous state would seem to have everything going for it to strengthen its clout in the highest councils of the federal government. By any conventional measurement, its assets are impressive — if not downright dazzling.

In the Senate, Democrat Alan Cranston has an unchallenged grip on the No. 2 leadership post of majority whip. With Republican opposition crumbling, California's senior senator is coasting toward easy re-election to a third term next November. He's already chairman of the Veterans Committee; in the next Congress, he could move up to chairman of the Banking Committee. The ingredients are there for some potent heavyweight representation, including the ability to force big concessions from the White House.

In the House, California's 43-member delegation is the biggest — and still growing. After the counting is done in this year's census, California will pick up two more seats in 1982. Besides boosting its numerical strength on Capitol Hill, this also will give the state an extra two electoral votes in presidential elections. Nationally, congressional reapportionment will siphon off seats from the Midwest and the Northeast. The balance of power is tilting toward the Sun Belt — the South and the West, including California.

As the new decade begins, California is in the thick of national politics. Its governor and his immediate predecessor are bidding for the presidency. With all its private wealth, the state has become a prime hunting ground for campaign money for many other presidential contenders as well. And, as far as feeding from the federal trough is concerned, California still gets $5 to $10 billion more each year in federal outlays than it pays in taxes to the federal treasury — thanks mainly to its primacy in the military and aerospace fields.

With all these advantages, it would seem California can go only from strength to strength. Yet, a closer examination of its actual performance in Washington points to a sharp downward turn in the 1970s — and the likelihood of further political erosion in the 1980s. California may be a giant among states; but it's a sleeping giant. Rudderless, without clear leadership or purpose, it's almost totally adrift. While other states are sharpening their knives for a bigger slice of

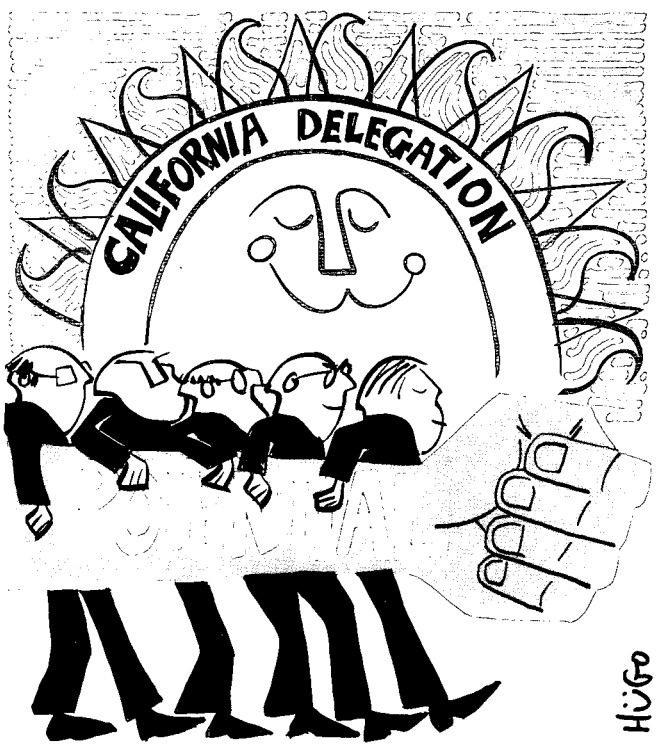

ILLUSTRATION BY RIC HUGO

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the federal budget, California has become fat and sassy — a ripe target for plucking by leaner, hungrier states.

Increasingly, California is getting clobbered by the Frost Belt in the scramble for tight federal dollars. After many years of being asleep at the switch, the Northeast and Midwest discovered that federal money has fueled booming economies in the South and the West since World War II. They're demanding a better shake for their regions — and getting it. Throughout much of the 1970s there were enough federal dollars around to accommodate new demands and priorities without too much pain. But the ballgame has changed. Proposition 13 fever has reached the Potomac. The battles now are over less — not more. And California is getting trampled. For example:

- ***The Senate reacted*** last year to the long gas lines in California by passing a standby gasoline rationing bill tilted heavily against California. An automobile in Texas would have been entitled to a monthly allotment of 60.9 gallons, while a car in California would have gotten a ration of 47.8 gallons. After California lawmakers set up a big hue and cry, the House ended up scuttling the plan. But even on this issue, the delegation could not achieve solid unity. Twenty-nine Californians voted against the rationing plan. Nine, however, voted in favor of it, including Roseville's Harold Johnson, the chairman of the Democratic delegation. So much for California's cohesiveness on Capitol Hill.
- ***For months, the delegation*** has been fighting a rear-guard action to maintain adequate federal support for tens of thousands of Indochinese refugees who are pouring into California. Here again, California finds itself backed up against the wall — and it probably will be forced to pick up a big chunk of the resettlement tab.
- ***With billions of dollars*** now starting to flow from Washington to help the poor pay skyrocketing utility bills, California once more is getting the short end of the stick. With the delegation caught completely off guard, Congress saw to it that low-income residents in California will get a pittance, while more generous allotments go to other states. With 10 percent of the nation's poor, California will get a mere 4 percent slice of the biggest anti-poverty program to come down the pike in years.
- ***With hardly a murmur of protest*** from the California side, the House recently voted to look for someone else to replace the University of California as manager of the Berkeley, Livermore and Los Alamos nuclear research laboratories. Jerry Brown gave California critics in Congress an opening by attacking the university's involvement in development of nuclear weapons. But the delegation was conspicuous by its absence when lawmakers from other states gleefully used this pretext to take a few whacks at California's prestigious university.

Internal weakness

In looking at the rising curve of California setbacks, it's obvious that growing competition from other states is a major factor. The basic weakness, however, is internal. California suffers from lackluster, maladroit representation. To aggravate the problem, California has lost a basic sense of direction and identity — and there are no political leaders in sight to provide a new compass.

What's California all about? What does it want from Washington? A generation ago, the answer was simple. California wanted more military bases, more defense contracts, more dams, more highways, bigger subsidies for farmers, gleaming new atomic research centers and half the space budget. The future was limitless and California was part of it. The congressional delegation's task was simple. It knew what it wanted and went after it. All this changed with the Vietnam War, the civil rights revolution, the urban crisis and the environmental movement. In the span of just a few years, California was

ILLUSTRATION BY RIC HÜGO

polarized and atomized — hawks versus doves, growth versus no-growth, farm workers against agribusiness, new-generation insurgents against the old establishment. The center fell apart as it began to be pounded from both the left and the right.

All these divisions — and more — are evident in the delegation. If California itself is in such turmoil, why be surprised if its elected representatives exhibit the same symptoms? Up to a point, that's a fair question — and a plausible explanation. The trouble is that it's also become an excuse — an alibi for cautious, do-little politicians to justify their puny objectives and even smaller accomplishments.

If California is to regain a sense of strong purpose and momentum in Washington, the requisite leadership can come from only three people — its two U.S. senators and the governor. They're the only ones with enough prestige, leverage and power to set a comprehensive agenda and to rouse the delegation from its Washington slumber. If you're waiting for this to happen anytime soon, however, don't hold your breath.

True, Cranston has amassed a lot of power in the Senate. But he's using very little of it. Cautious by nature, groping for consensus, wary of confrontation, Cranston usually steers a course toward safe harbors, not storm-tossed seas. On many controversial issues, including some directly affecting California, he first likes to see which way the wind is blowing before showing his hand.

Cranston can be passionate about world peace and nuclear disarmament; but on most other issues he tends to follow, not lead. Last year, for example, when the Senate took up the question of liberalizing acreage restrictions on farms that receive federal irrigation water, Cranston had an ideal opportunity to shape a piece of legislation that affects his state more than any other. It was clear from the outset that a compromise would have to be struck between champions of big agribusiness interests and supporters of family farms. Cranston, however, played hide-and-seek during crucial committee deliberations on the reclamation bill. When it hit the floor, he did a familiar juggling act. He went along with some — but not all — big-farm interests in California while trying to hang on at the same time to the political support of Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers. In the end, he never gained control of the bill — and voted against it. Politically, Cranston managed to placate some divergent constituencies; legislatively, he let

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others shape the bill. Can you imagine Russell Long showing such reticence toward a tax bill affecting Louisiana oil producers?

California's junior senator, Republican S. I. Hayakawa, had even less impact on the reclamation measure. As an all-out champion of agribusiness, he was more interested in playing to a single constituency than in the nitty-gritty, give-and-take task of molding legislation. Hayakawa is quite boastful about his lack of interest in the conventional work of a senator. He candidly admits he doesn't "give a damn" about his legislative batting average. Hayakawa's self-described role is that of a quixotic educator struggling to enlighten the unenlightened, including his colleagues and constituents. Most of the class is still out on this teach-in.

A low clout rating

A quick glance at the membership of the Senate shows there are at least a dozen states (including Nevada) with more potent representation than California. Upon closer analysis, the number of states with more senatorial clout may be even as high as 20. Of course, if Cranston perchance were beaten this year by John Schmitz, Paul Gann or any of the other rumored GOP contenders, Hayakawa would become senior senator. And California, instead of being 12th or 20th in the lineup, would be 49th or 50th. So much for California's prospects in the Senate in the early 1980s.

In the House, the outlook is even more dismal and chaotic. California was hurt badly three years ago when Phil Burton of San Francisco lost the majority leadership by a single vote to Jim Wright of Texas. Ever since, California has been out in the cold. Some members of the delegation have managed to cut deals with Wright and Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill of Massachusetts. But the Northeast and Texas are calling the shots — while Californians are excluded from powerful committee posts and left to squabble over scraps. Although every member of Congress now has more staff than he can effectively use, the Californians still haven't had the basic good sense to pool their bloated payrolls to hire full-time staff for the delegation as a whole. In the absence of such rudimentary assistance, statewide problems usually are perceived too late and statewide interests go by the boards.

The governor's role

There are some rising stars in the delegation, but they tend to be part of the political "me" generation. Narrowly focused on a few issues or special interests in their districts, they're more survivors than leaders. Still, any California comeback in the House will depend on whether up-and-coming Republicans like Bob Lagomarsino, Bill Thomas and Dan Lungren and Democrats like George Miller, Tony Coelho, Norm Mineta, Leon Panetta, Henry Waxman, Anthony Beilenson and Jerry Patterson can grow and mature on Capitol Hill.

As for strong leadership from the governor's office to protect California interests in Washington, that virtually vanished when Pat Brown left office. The potential, however, is still there. Any governor, if he wants to, can force the delegation to pay attention and to do quite a bit of his bidding. Even Jerry Brown discovered that when he plugged hard for a California space satellite. But here again, there's been a basic transformation in how California governors look at their jobs. To Earl Warren and Pat Brown, the governorship was reward enough. Yes, they also had national ambitions, but advancing California's interests came first. Under Ronald Reagan, priorities changed and the governorship was transformed almost immediately into a presidential-campaign tool. Under Pat Brown, the governor's office in Washington was a lobbying center for California projects. Under Reagan, it became an incubator for presidential politics; and Jerry Brown hasn't changed the script. Joe Beeman, Brown's chief Washington lobbyist, is working today as his New England campaign coordinator.

Perhaps California will have to wait until it gets a governor who's not burning with presidential ambition before some semblance of fruitful collaboration between Sacramento and the congressional delegation can be restored. The way things are going, that could be a long wait.

The view from Los Angeles

Watch out for Reiner and Yaroslavsky

By MICHELE WILLENS

Southern California, where stars are made, should breed the majority of the state's political stars in the '80s. It is along Los Angeles' endless freeways that California's dominant political figures traditionally rev up their careers, and the next decade should prove no exception.

Already, there are obvious people to watch. Like Jerry Brown, they are mostly young and over-anxious to pass the guy in front. Also like Brown, they excel in predicting which issues will matter in the near future, and they are mastering the increasingly omnipotent art of mediagenics: using the press and television to get their ideas heard.

But political leaders are determined by issues, and Southern California in the '80s will prove that more than ever. As the '70s end, it is the community activist groups, steeped in their own pet issues, which are forcing action from those in power. Rent control and busing are perfect examples.

These issue-oriented groups once stayed on the fringes,

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talking among themselves. Now they are learning how to work within the political system and, very simply, they will change it in the next decade.

The issues they care about are bread-and-butter issues: housing, busing, rent control and condominium conversion, environmental battles, airport noise and so on. It is out of battles over these issues and out of groups like Campaign for Economic Democracy, Bustop and Campaign for Economic Survival that most of the decade's new political leaders will rise. Such leaders are quickly learning how to move from the outside to the inside and, as the '70s close, they are starting to run for and win offices. For example, Santa Monica's city council reads like a who's who for Hayden's CED.

Former consumer activists, able to capitalize on the whims and whimpers of voters, will be everywhere in the '80s: on local boards and councils and even in the boardrooms. The view they represent — that people should get into government to make the system work better — will overtake the previously popular belief that government should just get out of people's lives as much as possible.

The ultimate crisis

The Southern California voters of the '80s will also be different, the products of a decade of Watergate, the consumer movement and the Me Generation. Housing, gas, food and energy prices will be foremost in their minds. But it is transportation that could finally emerge as the ultimate LA crisis. With gas likely to rise to two dollars a gallon, citizens will simply not be able to drive.

Yet LA, the nation's most car-dependent city, remains without a rapid transit system and without any serious prospect of one on the horizon. Those who hope to win election in the '80s will have to address the issue by offering firm rapid-transit proposals, not just promises like those which Mayor Tom Bradley made two terms ago.

The '80s will force upon Southern Californians that era of limits they have wanted to dream away: just plug in the Cuisinart and hope the other guy gets hit. Looking ahead, one sees oil embargoes, out-of-sight gas prices, necessary energy cutbacks and severe water shortages, especially when the Colorado River supply to LA ends in the mid-'80s.

Nuclear power could meet its end in Southern California: San Onofre may never get its two new reactors licensed, and Diablo Canyon may never open at all. Some are already proposing it be converted to coal. Others wryly suggest a hotel. (The Nuclear Arms?)

While Southern Californians clearly like their Cuisinarts and two cars, they also have shown a willingness to conserve. Surely they came through the recent gas crisis with gold stars. The '80s will hopefully bring people together into a We Generation sort of conservation.

It will be a decade in which Southern Californians and those who lead them will have to put financial and political commitment behind all that free power from the sun. The area could serve as a national prototype for what solar power can do when it gets off the idea list and into the energy-supply mainstream.

Bradley's future

Because of its size and stature, Los Angeles is a city where a mayor automatically becomes a national figure. It can be as important a stepping stone into the larger political arena as any position in the state Legislature. Tom Bradley, without shaking up City Hall, and even while disappointing many in the black community, has created a strong, positive image both for himself and the city. Polls show him among the state's most popular political figures. Even though he has often declined to answer when controversy knocked on issues like school busing, Bradley is generally acknowledged to be a calming force in a city that was burning in Watts and bristling under Sam Yorty not long ago. Many believe he will go against his campaign pledge to be a two-term mayor, particularly to preside over the 1984 Olympics he fought to bring to his city. Others disagree. But Bradley clearly has ambition, even though he doesn't always seem to have the fire below. A run for the governorship or for U.S. Senator S. I. Hayakawa's seat seems almost certain (probably the former), and Bradley will have a good shot.

Whenever the coveted mayor's seat is vacated, most of LA's political stars will jump. Ira Reiner, the controversial city controller, could be formidable. He is disliked by the professional politicans but fares well in the public polls as a result of his anti-junket, cost-cutting image. Reiner has a sincere, direct style and a knack for attracting positive media exposure.

Just about every city council member under 70 will run for mayor in 1982, but only one seems to have a wide-open political future. That is Zev Yaroslavsky, who already boasts a fat enough campaign chest to carry him through a primary. Yaroslavsky, 30, has been a strong, outspoken representative of his very Jewish, very liberal district, and if he can parlay that into a citywide campaign, he could win. Yaroslavsky has the two main assets for candidates in the '80s: He can recognize and embrace tough, consumer-oriented issues even before they become safe, and he is media-wise.

Kathleen Brown Rice, sister of Governor Brown and a member of the LA school board, is also said to be considering a race for mayor. However, she has lost a lot of solid liberal support as a result of her waffling on busing. Rice also is recently divorced and the mother of three young children. Those considerations could keep her from waging a race this early in her promising career.

Another city council member who has the instinct for moving upward is Bob Ronka, who will probably run for the board of supervisors next time around. Ronka is young, hard-working and popular with San Fernando Valley homeowners' groups.

Three Southern California legislators — Mel Levine, Maxine Waters and Bill Campbell — seem to have good potential for moving forward in the next decade. Campbell wants to run for governor; Waters and Levine could well end

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up in Washington.

Other political stars are sure to rise out of two dominant community forces, the anti-busing organizations and the Chicano community. Busing closed the '70s and LA's hottest issue, and there is little doubt about which side has won. Every anti-busing measure has passed, and anti-busing candidates have emerged as major political leaders. Pro-busing advocates have been defeated, compromised beyond recognition or even recalled, as was former school board President Howard Miller.

The anti-busing movement has produced a bright future for its best-known leader, Bobbi Fiedler, who will seek and probably win James Corman's seat in Congress. Her lack of political experience will likely be ignored by her grateful constitutents in the expansive, conservative San Fernando Valley. They figure that if they like Bobbi on busing, they'll like her on other things.

Fiedler and her comrade on the school board, Roberta Weintraub, have created not only an anti-busing constituency but a non-liberal Jewish constituency as well. In the past, the LA Jewish community has been a dependable stronghold for the Democratic Party, but the party has lost that grip. Also changing is the simmering animosity between blacks and Jews. The jealousies and rivalries which emerged with the Andy Young affair are coming to the surface again with busing. Blacks and traditional liberals are generally pro-busing, at least in sentiment, yet they have watched a large segment of the Jewish community lead the fight on the other side. Tensions can only get worse, at least until the busing issue is resolved. It's a relationship that will figure strongly in the LA of the '80s.

Among blacks, community organizing is creating potential political clout. The black community has already forced changes in the Los Angeles Police Department's minority policies. Many of the blacks behind the "off-the-street and into-the-system" organizing could become elected officials in the '80s.

Hispanic potential

But the most important "minority" is hardly a minority at all: It already comprises almost 30 percent of LA County's population and 50 percent of elementary-school students. These are the Mexican-Americans who in the past have been unable to organize efficiently, train potential leaders or affect most elections because of voter apathy.

Those conditions seem to be changing. One East Los Angeles group, United Neighborhood Organization (UNO), has become a significant force in its area, getting things like changes in car insurance rates. And UNO has earned itself the ear of all state leaders.

Another increasingly effective Chicano group is the East Los Angeles Community Union (TELACU), led by David Lizzaraga, who may have a future in state politics. Art Torres, a well-respected assemblyman, should also move upward in the '80s.

There is another new force at work in LA: the growing political power of the gay community. About 10 percent of LA County is estimated to be homosexual, and the gay community is learning quickly how to flex its political muscle. Already the Brown and Kennedy forces are competing for its support. It is likely that at least one gay candidate will win election in Los Angeles in the '80s.

District Attorney John Van de Kamp should make his long-awaited next move soon — probably a bid for attorney general. Until recently, he had substantial backing from the liberal community. But that has changed drastically with reports from his office exonerating persons involved with the shredding of city police files, and others involved with the shooting by police of a black woman named Eulia Love. The latter incident, in particular, may have done Van de Kamp irreparable harm in the minority communities.

And what about the voters of the next decade? They probably will be more street-smart politically and more demanding. They won't expect government to do everything for them, but they will expect help in essential areas. They will become more active politically and will force changes upon those in power. If those in power don't deliver, the activists will simply take their seats and do it themselves.

The view from San Francisco

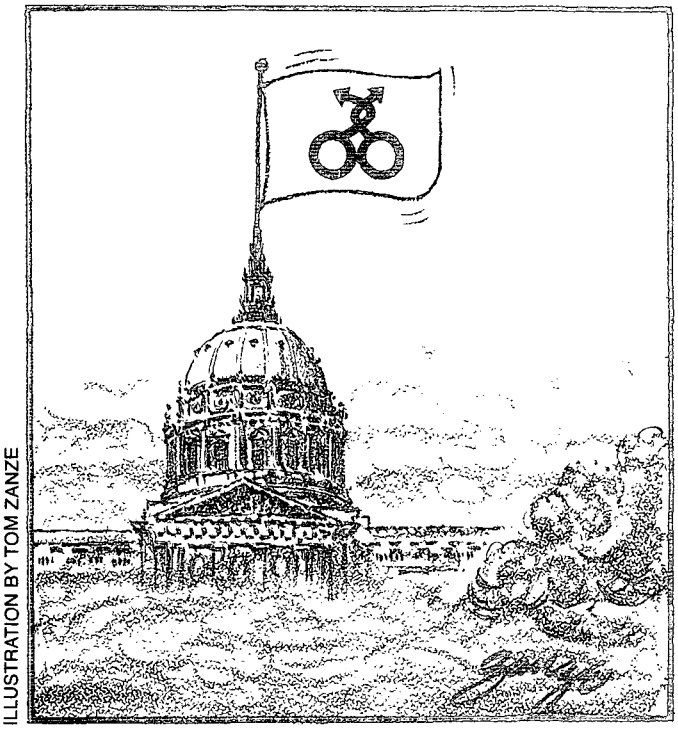

ILLUSTRATION BY TOM ZANZE

A gay Asian mayor?

By JERRY BURNS

It requires no great imagination to predict that sometime in the 1980s, San Francisco will elect its first gay mayor. The idea that a major American city could elect a homosexual chief executive may seem farfetched at first, but it enters the realm of possibility when one examines a few historical trends at work in the 1970s.

New players onstage

Examining population and political trends, one may speculate that in the next decade the city will choose a leader who is likely to be a moderate, nominal Democrat, perhaps Asian male, homosexual who runs on a platform of human rights, lower taxes and reduced city payrolls. San Francisco's fastest growing populations are among its Asian and gay residents. Its fastest growing political points of view are anti-bureaucrats and anti-tax, so it doesn't require a flight of fancy to suspect that these factors may be pulled together someday soon by a candidate who will sweep more traditional hopefuls aside.

It is certain, in San Francisco and throughout the Bay Area, that the 1980s will witness the emergence of many new players on the political stage. New mayors, new state and local legislators, new congressmen — these are bound to appear. Some of the current officeholders are already getting bored or old, or both, and are making noises about put-

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ting themselves out to pasture. Others are rapidly wearing out their traditional welcomes and will be put to pasture involuntarily. From the congressional delegation, veterans like Don Clausen and Pete McCloskey will probably find other activities; some like John Burton may find the opposition too much to handle. The upper peninsula's Bill Royer, only in the House of Representatives since last spring's special election to pick a successor for the slain Leo Ryan, is in his 60s, and younger Republicans are already eyeing the seat.

Of the Sacramento corps, San Francisco's two best-known legislators will probably give up the Legislature in the '80s. Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy probably will take the plunge for higher office (even as ex-speaker) despite data indicating that San Franciscans should stay out of contested statewide races with better-known Democrats from Southern California. Willie Brown, Herb Caen's favorite politician and best source, may decide to spend full time on the private law practice which he says is necessary to support his cars, his clothes and his family in the manner to which they are accustomed. The city's best-known handshaker and resolution presenter, state Senator Milton Marks, may also take the retirement trail in the new decade. And if Leo McCarthy leaves the Legislature, can his boyhood chum and political pal, John Francis Foran, be far behind?

On the east side of San Francisco Bay, new faces will replace Oakland Mayor Lionel Wilson and Contra Costa state Senator John Nejedly during the decade. Most of the rest of the political cast may stay on stage, however, as the Berkeley-Oakland area remains one of the last bastions of traditional Democrats in the state.

Democratic disarray

San Francisco entered the 1970s firmly in the hands of the Democrats — either the Democratic left, as represented by the Brothers Burton and their friends, or the Democratic right, as represented by Joe Alioto and his pals in the building trade unions. It emerged from the decade with the left in disarray after the assassination of George Moscone and the Democratic right still in some disgrace for public-employee union excesses, including unforgiven strikes by policemen and firemen. The new political reality features moderates with little party connection and with power bases which are built upon new constituencies interested in such untraditional issues as gay rights, rent controls, building limitations and neighborhood protection.

Reapportionment following the 1980 census will also have a heavy impact on the shifting political fortunes of individuals and areas around San Francisco. Some of the political power will shift, as population already has, away from San Francisco in several directions — particularly to the south, where the population boom continues in the Santa Clara Valley and to the south of San Jose, and to the northeast, toward the rapidly rising new suburbs in Contra Costa County. In general, the shift of population will continue to be from the traditionally Democratic central cities toward the more conservative, extremely tax-conscious suburbs.

Even in the central cities, however, the political mood of the 1980s is likely to continue its late-'70s swing away from liberal Democrats. This trend will be apparent even in San Francisco. There the municipal election results of 1975 (when an arch-conservative came within a few thousand votes of beating a liberal for mayor) and 1979 (when a moderate-conservative was elected mayor) showed that the politics of the city had changed considerably since the days when it was considered the exclusive hunting province of liberal and moderate Democrats.

During the new decade, San Francisco's growing number of Asian and gay voters will continue to prove that they are not the predictable supporters of liberal Democrats that

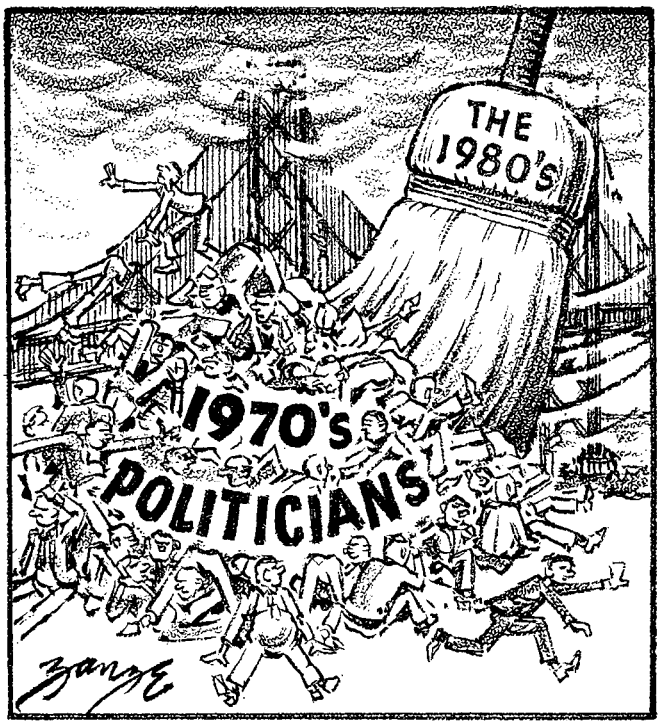

ILLUSTRATION BY TOM ZANZE

some political observers believed. Unlike some other minority voting groups, particularly black voters, many of the Asian and gay voters are extremely sensitive to pocketbook issues involving taxes and property. They have proven to be more than willing to support candidates who run on relatively conservative platforms of lower taxes and strong property rights. Even before the 1970s had ended, political analysts were already aware that many Asian and gay voters were not the guaranteed liberals some had supposed, but were, in fact, property owners who shared with mainstream voters many of the increasingly militant views of taxes and other property-related issues.

The 1980s will also see the rising importance of special, highly targeted constituencies. Thanks to increasingly sophisticated campaign techniques, particularly pinpointed direct mail, more politicians will handcraft their messages for precisely the voters they need to win elections. This has already been seen in some parts of the state, especially in special elections, and it will spread to any district where the campaign funds for such relatively expensive methods are available. Before the 1970s were history, experts in targeted, computerized mailing techniques were already replacing sign hangers and doorbell ringers in the front lines of political battles. With computers capable of storing almost infinite bits of voters profile information, campaigns of the 1980s will be targeted with a precision never dreamed of in the past. Candidates will be able to zero in on particular blocks and specific households. Want to appeal to all left-handed, red-headed, unmarried gun owners? In the 1980s, a computer will be able to give your campaign manager a printout of all their addresses in the district.

Neighborhoods and public employees

Some political scientists fear the development of such special, refined constituencies because of the probable results: single-issue officeholders who are unable or unwilling to reach the compromise decisions that have in the past been characteristic of a heterogenous, democratic society. The 1980s will provide an opportunity to study the ways in which changes in political technology may produce changes in politics and government.

Two other movements which arose in the last half of the 1970s, particularly in parts of the Bay Area, will probably

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grow in importance and spread throughout California in the new decade: neighborhood politics and anti-public employee politics. The rise of neighborhood politics has become particularly evident in San Francisco, where the creation of supervisorial districts less than five years ago has led to increasingly provincial politics and campaigning. The movement has considerable appeal to individuals who feel like tiny, anonymous parts of a gigantic whole. But it shows signs of producing narrow-visioned political leaders with no interest in the concerns of residents outside their own small districts. Some critics believe the district system has already trivialized the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, where members and their staffs spend much of their time dealing with stop signs and red curbs instead of the massive problems that plague the whole city. Defenders of the system insist it is the only way to provide personalized representation in a massive, complex society.

The disdain and disrespect for public workers is also likely to spread in the 1980s. An increasingly restive public, angered by strikes that regularly shut down such vital public services as schools, transit systems, police and fire protection, has already lost a large part of its sympathy for the public worker. Whatever sympathy remains will diminish in the next few years, as civil servants — trapped between rampant inflation and the public's demand for limits on taxation and government spending — continue to strike for better wages and working conditions. The public will react to every strike with increasingly bitter feelings toward public workers. The vicious cycle that will result has no evident solution as the state enters the new decade.

The view from San Diego

The Wilson, Wilson, Wilson report

By DONALD H. HARRISON

Most San Diego County politicians can hardly wait for the 1980 presidential election to end. They want to get on with what in their own careers may well be the main event: the 1982 election.

San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson wants to run either for governor again or for the U.S. Senate. And among many politicians with ambitions for less lofty offices, there is general agreement that 1982 is the year in which they must make their move.

They know that 1982 looms as the year of the two R's — reapportionment and retirement. Because San Diego is one of the major growth areas of the state, the next reapportionment probably will bring to the county another congressional seat, another state Senate seat and two more Assembly seats. Add to that the likelihood that San Diego's three congressmen may retire by 1982, and you have set the scene for a year in which almost everyone in the political arena is preparing to run for office.

Last September Mayor Wilson won a third term that will provide him a free ride in the '82 statewide elections. He captured more than 61 percent of the vote against mayoral challenger Si Casady, the one-time controversial president of the California Democratic Council, and now Wilson is moving unambiguously toward another run at statewide office.

One step was taken at the recent League of California Cities convention, when Wilson successfully urged smaller cities to place on their March ballots measures calling on the Legislature to transfer an additional penny of the state sales tax to local governments.

In the same election that gave Wilson a new five-year term, San Diegans voted overwhelmingly to call on the Legislature to increase the local-government share of the state sales tax to slightly more than two cents. It is slightly more than a penny currently.

Wilson hopes that if enough cities pass similar measures, the Legislature will take notice. He also hopes that if he campaigns around the state enough, voters will take notice. Lack of name recognition was one of the biggest problems encountered by the San Diego mayor in his 1978 Republican gubernatorial campaign. He finished fourth.

The mayor also has been courting the conservative wing of the Republican party, a segment of the party that spurned him as a gubernatorial candidate. Recently he appeared at a Los Angeles airport news conference with Ronald Reagan to give the former governor his endorsement for president — an act which potentially was of more benefit to the giver than the receiver. By so doing, Wilson may have brought to an end his feud with Reaganites who remember how he campaigned in the 1976 New Hampshire primary against Reagan and for Gerald Ford.

Another move to woo the party faithful came early in November when the mayor assured the San Diego Republican County Central Committee that — notwithstanding the officially non-partisan nature of his office — he will work strongly for whomever the GOP nominates to run this year against Democratic Assemblymen Larry Kapiloff of San Diego and Peter Chacon of Coronado.

The assurances came as no great shock to Kapiloff, who was Casady's strongest supporter. But they were upsetting to Chacon who angrily threatened to cease cooperating with the mayor on legislative matters. He also threatened: "At a signal from me, I'm sure the Hispanic community would oppose any

ILLUSTRATION BY STEVE JOHNSON

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effort (by Wilson) for statewide office."

Wilson clearly has indicated his plan to run again for governor. "I'll be back," he said after his 1978 defeat. But the U.S. Senate seat now held by Republican S. I. Hayakawa also figures in his thinking. Noting that gubernatorial rival Kenneth L. Maddy also will be back in 1982, some of Wilson's backers hope the two GOP moderates can reach an agreement not to knock each other off again. One scenario suggests that Wilson and Maddy might agree that one should run for the governorship and the other for the U.S. Senate in the event Hayakawa retires.

Climbing the ladder

Other San Diegans are plotting to climb the legislative ladder. They know that by 1982 two congressmen — Lionel Van Deerlin of Chula Vista and Bob Wilson of San Diego — are likely to retire, and that Representative Clair W. Burgener of La Jolla might quit, too.

Van Deerlin, who will be 68 that year, has hinted openly about retirement. So has Congressman Wilson, who would complete 30 years' tenure in Congress and be 66 at that point. Burgener, who will be 60 and a 10-year veteran of Congress that year, has said that a congressman should step down after about five terms.

Currently the political map of San Diego County is divided roughly into thirds. The northern third of the county is Republican; the southern third is Democratic. In the middle — in the suburban portions of the city of San Diego — is the battleground where neither party prevails.

State Senator Bob Wilson of La Mesa (not to be confused with either Mayor Wilson or Congressman Wilson) is the chairman of the state Senate Judiciary Committee and has been monitoring the population trends. As he sees it, most of the population growth has been in the northern and middle portions of the county — a development that would lead to the creation of a new Republican district in the northern part of the county and possibly the conversion of Republican Congressman Wilson's district into a more Democratic one. That being the case, San Diego's congressional delegation would be composed of two Republicans and two Democrats.

The big scramble

With this background, it is possible to predict these likely developments in San Diego County in 1982.:

- Van Deerlin may retire, setting off a political scramble in the Democratic southern portion of the county. Democratic state Senate President pro Tempore James R. Mills of San Diego has first claim on that congressional seat. By then Mills will have served in the Legislature for 22 years — two years beyond what is needed for the maximum legislative retirement pension. Although the seat is his for the asking, Mills would prefer to be appointed Secretary of Transportation by a Democratic president. Failing that, Mills might want to run for a statewide office — perhaps a U.S. Senate seat — rather than going from the No. 1 spot in the state Senate to a freshman congressman's desk.
- No one is expected to watch Mills' decision-making process more closely than Democratic Assemblyman Wadie P. Deddeh of Chula Vista, who will run for the best position Mills leaves in his wake. He'll go for Congress if Mills doesn't; otherwise he'll run for Mills' state Senate seat.
- Chacon possibly would challenge Deddeh for either position — a primary battle that would bring into the open the deep dislike Deddeh has had for Chacon ever since Chacon flip-flopped in the Assembly speakership battle that saw Leo McCarthy defeat Deddeh-backed Willie Brown Jr.
- County Supervisor Tom Hamilton, Chula Vista Mayor Will Hyde, San Diego City Councilman Leon Williams, and former Van Deerlin congressional aide Rudy Patrick Murillo are considered potential candidates for Deddeh's and Chacon's seats if they were opened in such a process.
- Moving north to the affluent San Diego suburbs, the seat now occupied by Republican Representative Bob Wilson is openly coveted by numerous candidates in both parties because of its location in an unsettled political area. Congressman Wilson already has drawn opposition in this year's election from Supervisor Jim Bates, a Democrat who figures that if he can't beat Wilson in a free ride this time, a strong showing nevertheless will put him in the best position to succeed him next time. Bates' 1980 campaign may have been aided when it was divulged that Wilson recently was arrested on a drunk-driving charge and, after a conviction on a lesser offense, was ordered to attend good driving classes. Bates also may have benefitted by Wilson's endorsement of John Connally for president — an endorsement not likely to endear Wilson either to Reagan Republicans or to San Diego's Jewish community which has been distressed over Connally's Mideast positions.

  Although Wilson has said repeatedly that he is running for a 15th term, his lackadaisical attitude towards fund-raising has kept alive speculation that he may retire at the end of the current term. Should the speculation prove right, Bates may find himself challenged in the Democratic primary — or muscled aside — by state Senator Wilson or Assemblyman Kapiloff.
- On the Republican side, a Wilson withdrawal could prompt the candidacies of San Diego City Councilman Bill Lowery, a former national youth coordinator of President Ford's 1976 campaign, and Supervisor Roger Hedgecock, an environmentalist. Hedgecock faces the same kinds of problems with Republicans locally as Mayor Wilson did on the statewide level. Another possibility is Republican Assemblyman Jim Ellis of San Diego. It is unlikely that Congressman Wilson need worry about a primary challenge this year. As the ranking Republican on the House Armed Services Committee, Wilson is identified by many Republicans with the Navy — an important San Diego political constituency.
- There is a possibility that the new congressional district that San Diego County hopes to get in 1982 could be tailor-made either for Ellis or for Repulican state Senator William Craven of Oceanside, who never has made a secret of his desire to cap his career with a stint in Congress. If Burgener retires, then Craven can run for Burgener's seat, and Ellis can run for a newly created seat. But if Burgener stays put, then the district could be drawn in such a way as to benefit either Craven or Ellis.
- As San Diego is to gain a congressional seat, so too will it gain a state Senate seat in the coming reapportionment. Depending on the new boundary lines, Kapiloff, Ellis and Republican Assemblyman Bob Frazee of Carlsbad might give up their seats in the lower house, either to succeed Craven and Senator Wilson or to run for the new seat.

Some wild cards

No forecast of San Diego County politics in the 1980s would be complete without mentioning some of the wild cards in the leadership deck. They would include U.S. Attorney Michael Walsh, a political independent who was founder of California Common Cause; Jack Ford, publisher of the *Del Mar News-Press* and son of former President Gerald Ford; San Diego Police Chief Bill Kolender, a Republican; Lee Grissom, a Republican who is executive vice president of the Chamber of Commerce; former San Diego City Councilwoman Maureen O'Connor, and Lynn Schenk, a one-time White House fellow who now serves as second-in-command of the state Business and Transportation Agency. O'Connor and Schenk are Democrats.

In short, the only sure thing about San Diego politics is that the shakedown process of 1982 will determine the movers and shakers for the rest of the decade.

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MOVERS AND SHAKERS: MONEY, SMOKE AND MIRRORS

CALIFORNIA'S POWER ELITE

A guide to the exercise of political power in Sacramento by officeholders, staff members, media representatives and legislative advocates.

By HAL RUBIN and PAT WASHBURN RUBIN

Governor Brown has a red phone, a hot line to his cabinet. One day a few years ago he wanted to speak to his secretary of agriculture and services. "Get Rose Bird on the phone," he said.

"Yes, Governor," an aide responded.

"Well, where's Rose?" Brown asked later.

"She doesn't want to talk to you."

Former state architect Sim Van der Ryn tells this story to illustrate the elusive and illusive aspects of power: You can have a hot line, but what happens if no one wants to answer at the other end?

Despite such temporary putdowns, those at the top have the ability to work their will, even if others resist it. Immediately below them is a cadre of politicians, advisers, consultants and opinion makers who influence, transmit and sometimes generate power of their own.

At the state Capitol, some of the political movers and shakers are readily identifiable, but others exerting tremendous pressure on the course of state government are virtually unknown to the public. Some automatically acquire power when they are elected or appointed to pivotal positions. Within the Legislature, there are staff members who are extremely influential; they stay out of the limelight, preferring to remain in the shadows of their bosses.

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The Sacramento government complex is also loaded with lobbyists and news reporters. The job of one group is to influence the course of legislation affecting clients. The responsibility of the other is to report on and analyze the public business in the Capitol. Both can wield enormous power, either by design or by accident. Some lobbyists employ their rhetorical skills, campaign-contribution kitties and organizational backing to benefit their clients much more effectively than the run-of-the-mill lobbyist. Advocates like James Garibaldi, Dugald Gillies, Mary Bergan and John Henning are at times more potent than individual elected officials in determining the outcome of a legislative conflict. Within the press corps, the bureau chief of the *Los Angeles Times*, the heads of the wire-service bureaus and the political editor of the McClatchy newspapers play key roles in the Sacramento tug of war, if only because they decide how much material on each issue will be fed to the public. Television reporters could be even more potent — if more stations chose to cover the Capitol.

Within Sacramento, not all bureaucrats are faceless. One appointee, Gray Davis, the governor's chief of staff, is well known to many Californians through his frequent appearances on television. In fact, he served as the state's *de facto* governor through most of the fall of 1979 while Brown was campaigning for president 3,000 miles away. As secretary of agriculture and services, Rose Bird became a towering figure in the Brown Administration. There are many others in the state's numerous agencies who wield power by virtue of personal strength, but the departments are beyond the scope of the examination that follows.

"Power is the ability to get things done. Power is actually being able to put it together and having the expertise to know what to do. It's the difference between a coach and a player."
— Tom Willoughby,
veteran legislative consultant

The two power positions

As former Assembly Speaker, state-treasurer Jesse Unruh says he knows where power resides: "There are different people in the offices, but essentially the power remains in the same places. There are only two significant power positions here — the governor and the speaker of the Assembly."

If Unruh is right, then Jerry Brown and Leo McCarthy must open any discussion of the politically powerful in California. Both are undeniably bright, hard-working, ambitious. But their styles of leadership could hardly be more different — and their use of the power they possess provides an interesting contrast.

Brown's style is unique. It confuses, frustrates and sometimes angers even his supporters. Earlier governors, his father included, operated in a traditional manner: They produced a laundry list each year of the things they wanted to accomplish. While affable and friendly, Brown Senior was a demanding employer. He expected his staff to work hard, and he worked hard himself. Schedules were made and appointments kept.

By comparison, Brown Junior's office looks like Grand Central Station. Early in his administration it was even more unstructured and chaotic than it is now. In his first year he delighted in questioning details in bills and, in the process, drove his legislative advisers crazy.

He has capitalized on his image of renegade, outsider and reformer whose background is that of a social activist, Mississippi civil rights worker, Eugene McCarthy supporter and anti-war demonstrator. Some observers say his governorship has suffered and his power to lead has been dissipated by his unwillingness to observe the traditional relations with the Legislature and the Democratic Party. Others say this is the key to his success — that his unorthodox approach to leadership is prophetic and effective. As Brown explains it, "Government is mostly smoke and mirrors."

'Stew or glue'

To appreciate the Brown-McCarthy contrast, consider how each man handles a meeting. McCarthy is always trying to pull people together and to get something out of a meeting. But when Brown calls a lot of people together, according to one insider, "It's like a pot, and you throw a lot of ingredients into the pot and you stir it up and hope something palatable will result. You don't really know whether you're going to get stew or glue. McCarthy would start off with 'I want stew, beef stew.' When the governor gets opposing interests together, he's hoping that somehow the dynamics of the situation will take over and a solution will emerge. More often than not, nothing emerges. People just talk themselves out."

McCarthy's leadership goal has been consensus. Any other brand of leadership — the heavier-handed tactics of ex-speaker Unruh, for example — probably would not work today. Single-issue politics, growing factionalism and declining party loyalty make the speaker's balancing acts necessary. Above all, a legislative leader must cater to his constituents in the Capitol rather than personal political goals, as McCarthy learned the hard way last month. McCarthy could well lose the speakership because he started raising money for himself instead of those who gave him his power.

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"Real power is diffused fairly well around Sacramento. You have people who can give information and are powerful because of that . . ."

Robert Fairbanks,
Sacramento bureau chief,
Los Angeles Times

Willoughby, Taugher and the popcorn man

Government isn't "smoke and mirrors" for the legislative and executive staffs. They must provide essential information to those who push the buttons and pull the levers. Some observers say the real power in Sacramento lies with the little-known staff members.

Who are these people who advise and inform the decision-makers? Generally, they fall into four categories: personal staff, responsible to individual legislators; central staff, responsible to all senators and assemblymen; partisan staff, responsible to party members in each house; and committee staff, responsible to their chairmen and chairwomen and to the members of the committee they serve.

Perhaps most important are the committee consultants, who work in the heart of the legislative process. Their duties include analyzing bills, researching problems and developing legislation. Committee consultants often have a tenure independent of the committee leaders. Those who have been around a while and are acknowledged experts in their fields command respect; legislators trust them and rely on the information they provide.

Any list of top consultants includes some key names: John Williamson, outgoing executive officer for Senate Rules; Tom Willoughby, consultant for the Assembly Resources, Land Use and Energy Committee; David Doerr of the Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee; J. Fred Silva at the Senate Local Government Committee; Fred Taugher, Assembly Rules; and Krist Lane, Assembly Ways and Means Committee. The list could be longer, but a closer look at three leading staff advisers may help to explain their kind of power:

Tom Willoughby. John Zierold of the Sierra Club calls Willoughby outstanding: "He is as objective as you can get. He obviously has his own beliefs, but he does an extraordinary job of remaining detached and doing what the quintessential consultant is supposed to do. He does what the Legislature asks of him in the most professional manner possible."

Willoughby just completed his 19th year as a staff person with the Legislature. His longest assignment was with the Assembly Local Government Committee; he transferred to Assembly Resources, Land Use and Energy when Victor Calvo became chairman. Willoughby says it isn't difficult to separate his preferences from the issues he is directed to analyze: "I don't make the decisions; I just offer the options."

Fred Taugher, State Controller Ken Cory, who once held the job, says Taugher has "enormous practical power on the Assembly Rules Committee." As chief administrative officer, Taugher assists the committee members in the day-to-day chores of running the Assembly. He describes his job as the "housekeeping unit" for the Assembly. "It's entirely different from other consultants. The Assembly Rules Committee handles very little legislation. Our office is responsible for preparing and administering the budget for the Assembly, which is about $30 million per year . . . Out of the budget we pay for the purchasing of items, the leasing of space and salaries. It's a nuts-and-bolts job, and the product is different from that of other committee consultants. I would be dealing with administrative matters, trying to make judgments on what kind of resources the members of the Assembly need in order to adequately perform their jobs."

Taugher has been in this position since 1973. Previously he served as the assistant chief administrative officer for two years. Prior to that he was an administrative assistant to Jesse Unruh.

Bob Williams. Years ago, legislators had only a skeleton staff and were dependent for information on the administrative branch on fellow lawmakers with specialized knowledge and on lobbyists. Bob Williams, legislative adviser to the governor, says that with today's professional consulting staff, the legislators' great dependency on lobbyists and on the executive branch has disappeared.

Williams credits Jesse Unruh with the improvement and says that professional consultants give the California Legislature the independence as well as the time and knowledge to effect change. "That's the reason the California Legislature is so far ahead of other states . . . Having a full-time professional consulting staff is healthy for the state, but puts us in a more difficult and challenging position because they have very able staffers of their own upstairs now. They don't need us as much as they once did."

But Bob Williams still plays a significant role in the legislative process. He has reviewed bills and helped propose legislation for three governors, beginning with Pat Brown in 1963. Gray Davis suggests that when you are elected governor you get two things: furniture and Bob Williams. "He comes with the territory," Davis says. "Every governor needs people who have a sense of tradition and history, and who do not get swept up in the heady atmosphere that exists at the beginning of an administration. Bob is a thoughtful, sober person. Jerry Brown trusts his judgment. Bob doesn't try to manipulate the governor, and he is careful to make a balanced presentation."

Davis adds that Williams has more power than he admits

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because the popcorn machine is in William's office: "There is real power in having a popcorn maker in your office." William's office has become the functional equivalent of the office drinking fountain. When the aroma of popcorn wafts through the air ducts in the governor's suite of offices, everyone, including Jerry Brown, gravitates down to Williams' office.

Calling himself more of a "traffic cop," Williams says, "My role is to present a factual analysis of a bill, to state what it is intended to do, whether it accomplishes that intention, who sponsors it, who oppose it. We touch base with our departments if they have an interest in the bill. I also include a recommendation to the governor.

"Obviously some bias exists. You try to sublimate those feelings because it becomes a problem when staff starts running the program and not the person whom staff is employed by. So whether you're legislative staff, a committee consultant or gubernatorial staff, you have to keep reminding yourself that it's someone else you work for and that you're not running your own program."

"There are people with knowledge who know where to go to get results. That is what I call the acupuncture dimension of political power — knowing how to work the nerve-blocking system of government through skillful application of pressure — sometimes subtle, sometimes strong."
— John Zierold,
Sierra Club lobbyist

The third house

When Hugh Burns, former president pro tempore of the Senate, was accused of having too-close ties to certain special interests, he replied that lobbyists were in the state capital even before the Legislature got there. Historically, Burns was correct. At one of the first legislative sessions in the state's history, held in San Jose, the lobbyists got there first and took all the hotel rooms so there was no space for lawmakers. "That probably gave rise to the expression about getting into bed with lobbyists," Burns added. "There was no other place to sleep."

Lobbying in Sacramento is more sophisticated and more expensive than it was in the days when the railroad barons wielded naked clout in state government. The last of the old-time lobbyists was Artie Samish, who dominated Sacramento politics for two decades. He weighed more than 300 pounds, wore wide straw hats on his bald head and provided a living caricature of the influence peddler. Samish was the source of such arrogant comments as: "I can tell if a man wants a baked potato, a girl or money," and "I am the governor of the Legislature; to hell with the governor of California." He was eventually convicted and jailed for tax evasion.

Today less flamboyant lobbyists in Sacramento speak for a variety of interests: petroleum, liquor, motion pictures, automobiles, race tracks, mortuaries, agribusiness, banks, savings and loans, real estate, insurance companies, title and trust companies, dairies. Among the corporate giants they work for are Tenneco, Bank of America, Standard Oil, Pacific Gas and Electric, Kaiser, Safeway, Southern California Edison. Professional and labor associations are there, too: doctors, teachers, chiropractors, trade unions.

Political reform?

When California voters passed the Political Reform Act of 1974, they were told it would reduce the excessive influence of special-interest money on the political process. Secretary of State Jerry Brown, campaigning for governor, promised that free-spending lobbyists would be limited to a "hamburger-and-coke" entertainment style if Proposition 9 passed.

But spending records from the Fair Political Practices Commission suggest otherwise. Lobbyist spending is actually increasing: In the two-year period, 1975 - 1976, $40 million was spent. In 1977 - 1978, about 600 groups spent nearly $50 million to lobby state legislative and administrative decisions.

Campaign contributions are similarly on the rise. The 1978 FPPC report on the general election shows that total contributions from all sources were $20.8 million. About 65 percent, $13,782,000, came from business, financial institutions and agriculture. In that election legislative candidates spent $10.5 million; Democrats outspent Republicans two to one and winners outspent losers four to one. Incumbents outspent newcomers four to one. In the Assembly, winners spent an average of $53,000; losers $13,000.

In the Senate, the median expenditures for Democrats was $57,000; for Republicans it was $21,000. Jerry Brown spent $3.4 million; Evelle Younger, $2.2 million; Mike Curb, $1.5 million; Mervyn Dymally, $532,000; George Deukmejian, $823,000; Yvonne Burke, $813,000. The cigarette industry spent $6.5 million to defeat the initiative to regulate smoking.

Most of these millions came from sources with a cause to serve. One third-house member asks, "If they (legislators) don't have the bucks, how are they going to communicate with their constituents?"

Do such campaign contributions by special interests give them an inordinate amount of influence over state government? Some veteran observers say no — that, in fact, the power of major lobbying forces have been in a long, slow decline over the past few decades. Although some groups may have increased their clout in the Capitol, lawmakers generally act more independently today than they did in previous eras. Assemblyman Willie Brown acknowledges

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that candidates are dependent on contributions, but he doesn't think those individuals who donate huge sums of money get anything substantial in return. "They may get an audience on a given issue and they might tip the scale if a particular candidate is otherwise neutral on an issue," Brown says. "But if a candidate holds strong views on a subject, no amount of money will alter his views. The manner in which the electorate operates these days doesn't permit that kind of influence. Political contributions buy nothing. I don't know why anybody gives them."

Brown cites one example: "The (teachers' unions) are some of the largest contributors to campaign war chests, and the CSEA (California State Employees Association) is big, too. But they literally had to beg and scrape to get the governor's veto overridden on the last (state employee pay) raise."

Some at the top

Here are a few of the most influential lobbyists at the Capitol (See also *CJ*, September 1978):

James D Garibaldi. The highest-paid lobbyist in Sacramento, Garibaldi collected $460,379 in fees and expenses in a recent two-year period. His clients include Blue Chip Stamps, California Association of Highway Patrolmen, Hollywood Turf Club, Leslie Salt Company, Pyramid Ranch Company, California Mortgage Brokers Association, and the law firm of former governor Pat Brown (Ball, Hunt, Hart, Brown and Baerwitz).

"Garibaldi is a very influential person," says state Controller Ken Cory. "He doesn't take up too many lost causes and understands the limits of his influence."

The Sierra Club's Zierold agrees: "Garibaldi is much more typical of the power broker, the kind of person who could, if he ever wanted, show you how much influence he has in the selection and election of candidates — more so than any other lobbyist."

"The toughest bill to get out this year was the (pro-industry) liquor bill," says another lobbyist. "It had a lot of opposition and was not a popular issue for legislators. Only one man could have gotten that bill through — Garibaldi."

Dugald Gillies. One of the most effective lobbyists is Gillies, who represents California realtors. "He's got three things you need," says Bob Fairbanks of the *LA Times*. "Knowledge, a powerful organization behind him, and personal integrity. He can be arrogant as hell. He can be nasty. But he will not sacrifice his client's interests one inch. Not for any reasons. The guy's integrity is cast iron."

B. T. Collins, former legislative liaison for Governor Brown, says, "I would be terrified if I ever had to oppose Gillies. It's the old story. If your word is good in this town, you're going to do okay. Realtors don't just talk — they get out there."

Fairbanks says professionals like Gillies are a force to reckon with. "If you want to get a health bill through, you should first find out what the California Hospital Association and the California Medical Association think. The medical lobbies, teachers' unions, water interests — people who make their living at what they do and are organized — are going to be more effective than groups like the Sierra Club that have limited budgets. If you're in the real estate business and someone wants to cut your 6 percent commission, you'll fight a helluva lot harder than someone who wants to preserve open space and green belts and who, meanwhile, works as a teller in a bank."

"The realtors make a fantastic effort," says Governor Brown's adviser Bob Williams. "They bring together the resources of their membership. They have a mechanism to reach each legislator, which is an effective way of lobbying. It's different than just hiring some high-powered lobbyist to come here and sell their position."

Mary Bergan. Controller Cory is impressed by Mary Bergan, lobbyist for the California Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO). "She can get a lot of things through the governor's shop and the Legislature," Cory says. Bergan explains her successes simply: "Our membership tends to be more active in politics and in the community. At an AFT meeting with a legislator, that legislator is likely to know some of the people from other contexts. Secondly, I'm probably better than the California Teachers Association. I don't mean to sound egotistical, but I've been here a while and I know my issues. And we have a well-defined set of policies that we refine each year."

There is also lobbying power that rests on issues, not dollars. Reviewing his own lobbying efforts for the Sierra Club, Zierold says, "We are a kind of trade name for the conservation movement. Whatever good or bad happens is usually said to have happened because of what the Sierra Club has done. In some cases it's true, but in many cases it is not. When we have political power it's because we can isolate an issue, turn the spotlight of public scrutiny on it. When we get an issue sufficiently well recognized and understood, the public can confront its elected representatives — on questions of clean air, clean water, the Alaskan wilderness. Then the political decision-maker is forced to respond to the public. We have clout when we change the everyday rules of the game of politics."

Issues and dollars

Other voices are listened to because they speak for vast numbers of voters. Jack Henning, as elected head of more than 1 million labor union members in California, clearly has easy access to any legislator's ear. So do representatives of organized business interests. McClatchy political editor Martin Smith believes the influence of old-fashioned business interests is increasing after a low period following Watergate. With the Legislature firmly in the hands of Democrats in recent years, businessmen from groups like United for California had contributed to some Democratic incumbents, mainly to ensure access. Now, in the post-Proposition 13 world, more business money is going to Republicans.

Another important category of givers includes individuals of wealth who give big bundles of cash either for philosophical reasons or for ego gratification. Such individuals give generously: Checks of $10,000, $20,000 and up are not unusual. One veteran fund-raiser says, "The guy who contributes $500 is the one who wants you to pull something shady. He expects to buy the state. The $50,000 contributor knows that you can't pull that kind of thing off and never asks you to try."

A third group of contributors encompasses the true believers of the far left and right. To these people, a candidate's rating in the polls doesn't matter. They are willing to put their money on a candidate even when they know he's a loser, because in their hearts they know he is right. The true believers came close to financing the entire campaign of their heroes with thousands of small contributions.

"You can't succeed in politics without money," explains Assemblyman Willie Brown. "But having it is no guarantee you will make it. Even though Propositions 13 and 4 were popular ideas, they couldn't get off the ground unless they were adequately financed.

"It's the same with candidates. Running for the state Assembly is a very expensive process. I don't know how you beat an incumbent unless you have $150,000 to $200,000 to spend. You've got to do at least four mailings to a 250,000 constituency, and you're talking about $27,000 to $30,000 for postage alone per mailing."

Such high-cost campaigning obviously has helped to weaken the power of both political parties. Treasurer Jesse Unruh believes that "if you've got enough money, chances

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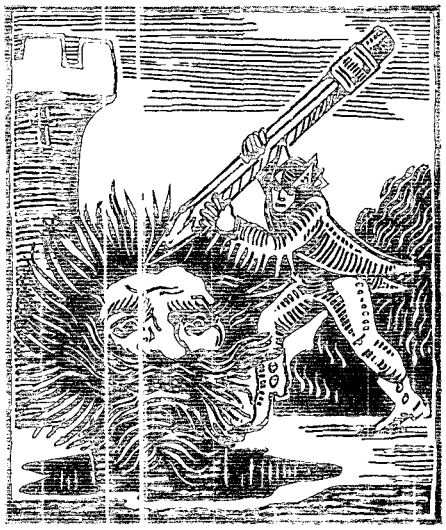
are that you can sell any candidate, particularly if the competitor can't match you dollar for dollar in the advertising market." In that climate, party support is nearly irrelevant.

Unruh rates the melting of party strength as "the single worst catastrophe in the American political system today." He calls the Republican Party impotent, unable to offer a viable political alternative, and he believes they don't represent a majority of anything. Of his own party, Unruh says, "There is no Democratic Party either. There are only a lot of people who call themselves Democrats. The Democratic majority in the Assembly can't agree on things that have been basic Democratic policy for years. Unlike the Republicans, the Democrats have tried to appeal to a broader group of people, and as a consequence it's still a viable umbrella. It doesn't stand for anything anymore, but it isn't identified as a very narrow-based kind of economic royalty, like the Republicans are."

Unruh believes that the third house is as strong now as it ever was, despite staff professionalization and campaign reforms. His often-quoted aphorism, "Money is the mother's milk of politics," might be amended by a line from poet Bob Dylan: "Money doesn't talk. It swears."



"As elected officials we rely on the news we read. We learn to read the paper more quickly by looking for our own names."
— Lou Papan, assemblyman.

The fourth estate

Lou Papan is probably right. Many Capitol press corps members are painfully aware that the print journalists of today probably have more influence on the legislators, on the bureaucrats and on each other than they have on their readers.

Consumer polls confirm the trend: Every year more people rely on television news as their prime source of information on government. In the Capitol, where TV coverage is generally sporadic and superficial, this raises important questions about the power of the media: Who controls it? Who decides what the public will know about state government?

There are no simple answers, but some general conclusions can be drawn:

- **The press as power broker** is playing a far different role than it did two or three decades ago. "There was a time when three papers ran the Republican Party: the *Oakland Tribune*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and, most of all, the *Los Angeles Times*," says Martin Smith, political editor of the McClatchy newspapers. Today newspaper endorsements have little apparent effect on statewide races, according to several surveys. (See "What's an endorsement worth?", *CJ* August 1979.) "They begin to make a difference on issues and ballot measures, where people don't know or haven't studied an issue sufficiently," says Bob Fairbanks of the *Los Angeles Times*. "Then (voters) tend to trust their newspaper."
- **Although newspapers no longer are the chief source** of voter information, they are relied upon heavily by the broadcasting news teams, most of which lack the time, background and personnel to do much original reporting.

Only a few years ago, a half-dozen television stations staffed the Capitol and did their own legwork. But during the late '70s TV decision-makers opted for entertaining, happy-talk newscasts, and significant coverage of the state Capitol declined. Only two non-Sacramento stations — KRON in San Francisco and KNBC in Los Angeles — now cover state government on a regular basis.

- **Since many of the broadcast media** tend to take their cues from the print journalists, the power of the most respected writers may, ironically, be greater (although less apparent) than before. If so, then these are a few of the powerful members of the fourth estate, as selected informally by veteran observers:

Doug Willis, Associated Press bureau chief, Sacramento. Because of his long experience, his access to government leaders and the reach of his organization, Willis is a key figure in Capitol coverage. His staff's version of daily political events in Sacramento is the one that most newspapers in California transmit to their readers.

Robert Fairbanks, *LA Times* Capitol bureau chief. As top man in the Capitol for the state's largest daily, Fairbanks directs a staff of experienced newswriters, including Jerry Gillam (dean of the Capitol press corps), Larry Stammer and Carl Ingram, former Sacramento bureau chief for United Press International.

Martin Smith, political editor of McClatchy newspapers and syndicated columnist appearing in 13 other non-McClatchy California dailies. "No one reads a Marty Smith column and relates it immediately to a yes-or-no decision on an issue," says John Zierold, Sierra Club lobbyist and a former legislative staff member. "I'm talking about a process — there is a process in reading that tends to shape opinion. Within the political world of Sacramento, Smith has that effect. He is writing for people who are interested in politics."

Dan Walters, *Sacramento Union* Capitol bureau chief. The rogue elephant of the Capitol press corps, Walters is aggressive, abrasive and hard-working. His influence is more parochial than that of the political writers for Bay Area and LA papers, but he is read regularly by the lawmakers and bureaucrats from whom he gathers his news and by the

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press corps with which he is competing.

Of course even these writers are not all-powerful in determining what is news and what is not. They must answer to their copy desks, editors and publishers, just as TV and radio newscasters answer to producers and news directors. Thus power in the media is diffused among dozens of little-known decision-makers — just as is real power in government.

"When you frame solutions to problems, they still have to be solutions a majority of the people are willing to accept. Bill Richardson is too far out of the mainstream, and that goes for people on the far left."
— Willie Brown, assemblyman.

Power of the computer letter

There is thunder on the far right in California. The politics of alienation is becoming a tool in the hands of ultra-conservatives like Senator H. L. Richardson. The maverick Republican is determined to defeat state officials who oppose his political views and to elect those in harmony with them.

Richardson owns one of the biggest direct-mail businesses in the country and operates several political-action committees promoting specific issues, such as gun control and the death penalty. In the 1978 general election, his two mail-order campaign groups — the Law and Order Campaign Committee and the Gun Owners of America — spent $1.7 million to elect conservative candidates, push the death penalty, and try to remove Chief Justice Rose Bird from the state Supreme Court.

Here is how Richardson and his staff at Computer Caging operate: First they design a three- or four-page letter to introduce voters to a particular issue, laying out the problem and advocating a remedy. The letter ends with an appeal for money to finance the campaign. The money that comes in is then used to finance more mailings.

Creating a 'big lump'

Richardson sells the same kind of service to candidates. He names Mike Curb as one of those "smart enough to come to me and ask me to do it for him." What appeared during the campaign as a handwritten, personal letter signed by Curb's wife was a product of Richardson's operation. So were various letters purchased by Paul Carpenter, Howard Jarvis, Paul Gann, John Schmitz, the Butcher-Forde campaign management firm, the California Republican Assembly and others.

Richardson claims that he doesn't make any money out of his business: "I'm trying to build an organization that creates a big lump. I perceive myself as putting things together and organizing mechanically to make things happen . . . and doing it all over the country for other organizations and candidates.'

Richardson heats up when he hears that others believe that he has no clout, that he is out of the mainstream and that his views are not palatable to the majority. "Who else could have gotten the death penalty bill through?" he asks. "Did I get it because they love me or because of the logic of the legislation? No, it's because I built enough political smack out there that Leo McCarthy was knocked down on his backside . . . They knew my ability to get into their districts and punish them on the issue."

The death penalty fight is a prime example of his techniques. "Governor Brown had sworn to override the bill," he says. "The leadership in both the Assembly and the Senate said they opposed the bill. A Democratic majority in both houses were openly against the bill — yet it became law."

The key to success, he says, was a substantial direct-mail approach to get as many people as possible in California behind the issue. Letters reached 2 million households. Before they were finished, Richardson's workers had sent out six mailings at a cost of more than $600,000.

"We passed the death penalty legislation, didn't we? We put 400,000 pieces of mail on Mr. Brown's desk. He does pay attention. He stuck to his commitment to override, but he never worked the Legislature on that bill. We pushed him off." Richardson says he brought 27 bags of mail into the Senate and the Assembly. "I brought in carts with cards. On the back of each return card was a name tag which we keyed back into the computer. So we were capable of breaking down close to 400,000 people according to their constituency districts. We came up with 50,000 ongoing contributors, which not only paid for it but carried the thing and built the structure. One of the important things about computer mailing is to identify a constituency. So that all went into the computer. Then we looked out and saw the legislators we thought would be the swing votes and a couple we knew wouldn't swing whom we could pressure and knock out at the next election. So we keyed into those particular districts in the last few days of the death penalty thing when it was at the peak of public attention. That's when you saw Frank Vicencia, a Democrat from Compton, say he got 4,000 phone calls from my constituency in a four-day period. We turned that on him and he changed his mind and we got the death penalty — he was the 54th vote."

Delivering the message

Richardson cites defeat of stronger gun control bills as another success story. "Instead of trying to change the

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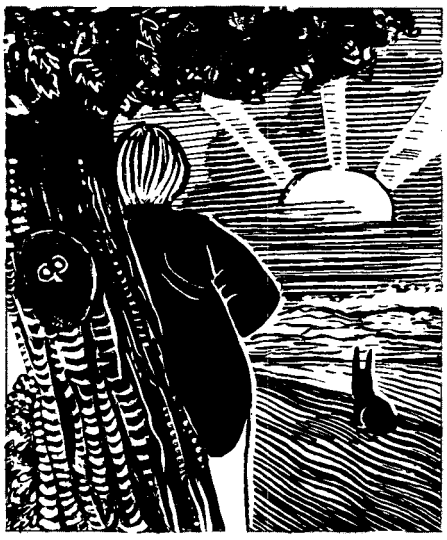
minds of the Legislature on the efficacy of the Second Amendment, we came out and said, 'You vote for gun control legislation and we're going to whip your butt.' And that was the extent of our message. Then we proceeded to do it. We have identified in California 125,000 contributors to this issue. We didn't intellectualize on the issue. We can substantiate the right to bear arms with books and volumes. But that isn't how you deal with the Legislature. We give money to campaigns and candidates. We tell our contributors we will elect people who are favorable to the gun issue . . . We apply that money in the proper places at the proper time."

On the wall at Richardson's Gun Owners of America office are two sets of black and white glossy photographs. One set of 16 photos represents legislators Richardson claims his organization helped defeat in the 1978 general election. The other wall of photos are the candidates he says he helped elect — Mike Curb and George Deukmejian among them.

The senator from Arcadia describes himself as a "new" conservative. "Most Republicans, you take one swing at them and they duck for cover. They're like the wildebeest. It should be the symbol of the Republican Party. When wildebeests are confronted by an enemy, they run off about 200 yards, snort at the enemy and then fight each other."

There are drawbacks, Richardson says. "Jane Fonda and crowd, they don't like me. That's okay because I don't like them. I will go out and fight with them in the trenches and every other place at every opportunity . . . because I think I am good at it."



"Real power is associated with an idea. A well-placed person with a powerful or appealing idea makes power. Most change in California in the past five or six years has come from powerful ideas that found interesting spokesmen."
— Gray Davis,
Governor Brown's chief of staff.

Power in the '80s

Is Senator Richardson's computer-mailing politics the wave of the future? In the coming decade, will all candidates be packaged and marketed like laundry detergents? Will voters continue to take lawmaking in their own hands, as they have done with Proposition 13 and other major initiatives? Or will there be a swing away from mediagenic politicians and ballot-box decision-making — and a renewed demand for old-fashioned political leadership?

The answers to those questions will determine who holds power in state government for the 1980s. While no crystal ball is available, one prediction seems safe: The state's voters will remain quite willing to change leaders and laws if they lack confidence in the way their elected officials are moving — or not moving.

The real power, in the final analysis, resides with the citizens of California.

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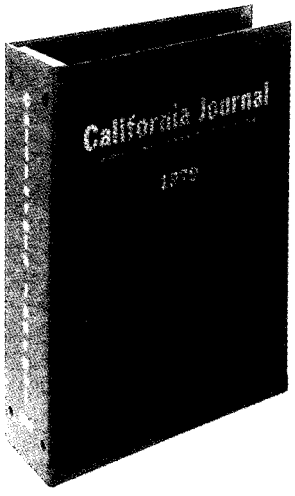

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The Meager Remains of California Political Leadership

By ED SALZMAN

Back in the early 1960s, Jesse Unruh employed a one-word slogan in his Assembly re-election campaign — "leadership." No one questioned whether the powerful and skillful speaker of the Assembly was entitled to remind his constitutents that he was at that time preeminent among California political potentates. As state treasurer, the Unruh figure can still be located on the California political landscape, but hardly in the foreground.

Unruh is far from alone. Try to list those California politicians today who can be rated as genuine leaders — those who are willing and able to march ahead of the crowd and pull the reluctant in a given direction. There are so few that they could literally meet in a telephone booth. Jerry Brown is a follower of the mood of the masses, not a trailblazer like an Earl Warren. None of the other statewide constitutional officers is creating the kind of impact required to make the list. There is no strong leadership in the state Senate. Any Assembly Speaker — Leo McCarthy, Howard Berman or someone else — belongs on the list. A speaker must have political acumen, a willingness to take the lead in the establishment of long-range public policy and, on occasion, must employ the might of the office. A weak Assembly speaker — even one who commits a single major error — would be deposed in short order. None of the mayors of the major cities have become significant forces in statewide politics.

The congressional delegation produces the second leader: Senator Alan Cranston, who holds the office of Democratic whip and is generally considered the state's prime spokesman in the nation's capital. Cranston has long been a force in California politics. He founded the once-potent California Democratic Council and was considered a leader of the liberal wing of the Democractic party. He has built his present standing by moving to the center somewhat and by trying to serve all of the state's economic interests in Washington.

The political game

California politics has undergone a dramatic change in the past 15 years. The political game is not nearly as rough in Sacramento today as it was before Unruh started making major reforms that produced a far more democratic Legislature. At the time Unruh was running the Assembly, the Senate had its share of leaders, among them George Miller, J. Eugene McAteer, Hugh Burns and Randolph Collier. Miller and McAteer, who didn't like each other, both died at the height of their careers. Burns was deposed as head of the Senate in 1969, and one-time transportation boss Collier didn't survive the democratization process. The current titular head of the Senate, James Mills, was elected president pro tempore only after he promised to be a peacemaker among rival factions in the Upper House. The result has been a rudderless Senate for about a decade. And there is no evidence that strong leadership will soon develop in the Senate.

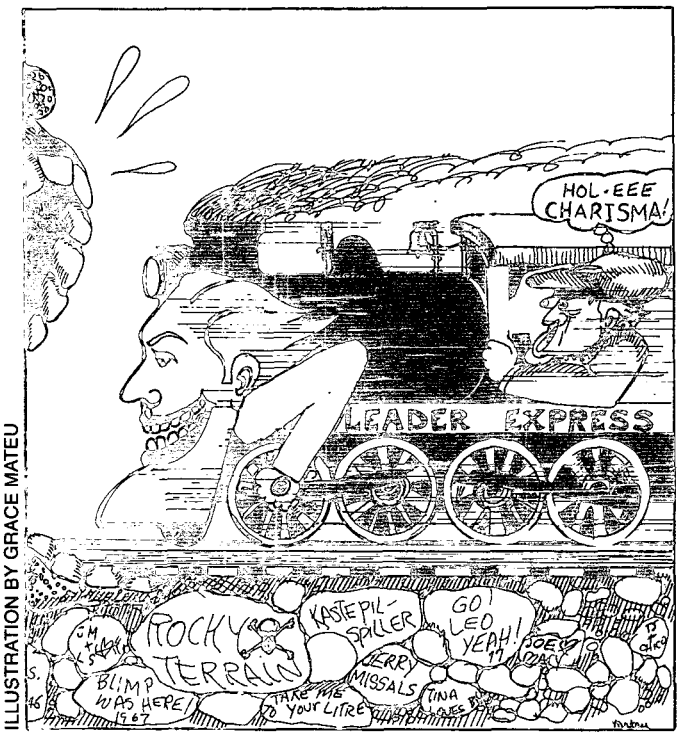

ILLUSTRATION BY GRACE MATEU

It appears that weak leadership may be the price of democracy, at least in the Legislature. As Senate Finance Committee chairman, the late George Miller Jr. (father of the present congressman) used to declare at public hearings: "Show me in the rule book where it says I got to be fair." No committee chairman with half a brain would utter that statement today. In the Miller era, committee votes were taken by voice and rarely recorded. Committees used to have secret meetings and decide how to dispose of bills. Decisions were often made by lawmakers and lobbyists in the Sacramento saloons.

Legislators today are unwilling to delegate power to a few leaders in either house. It is more difficult for a lawmaker to grab power either by being a bully or through wheeler-dealer operations. The rising stars in the Assembly, Howard Berman and Art Torres, for example, have displayed ability to march ahead of the crowd when dealing with politically delicate issues. (Berman was viewed as McCarthy's probable successor even before his recent move, and Torres is a likely statewide candidate in 1982 for an office yet to be selected.)

But the democratization of the Legislature doesn't explain the overall demise of political leadership in California (and in the nation as well). Several other major forces have been at work in the past 15 years. Among them:

- ***The rise in the importance of charisma.*** Nowadays,

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the ability of a candidate to provide leadership is not nearly as important as his or her mediagenic qualities. In sizing up a candidate, the image makers don't ask whether the politician has a grasp of issues or can persuade colleagues. The key questions today are whether a candidate looks good on television, can raise enough money for a strong media campaign and has sufficient name identification.

• ***The low public rating of government and politicians.*** Even before Watergate, politicians were not held in particularly high esteem by the masses. It is doubtful that a politician these days would consider it an asset to be called a powerful leader, à la Unruh in the early 1960s. Voters today seem to want followers rather than leaders. At least that's the perception of Jerry Brown, who has engaged in rhetorical sleight of hand to describe his view of political leadership. "To be a leader," Brown has said, "you have to be at one with the people you lead." In other words, Brown would rate as a leader the politician who jumps into the center of the clamoring throng.

Brown has been heavily criticized in California for his failure to produce long-range programs for the state. He has also been under attack for his fast footwork in changing positions on issues, notably the tax revolt epitomized by the Jarvis-Gann initiative. Ironically, some of Brown's Eastern critics have praised him for having a vision of the future, something they find lacking in other candidates for the presidency. Not many years ago, a politician was not punished for desiring to seek higher office. Now, political aspiration is often viewed as opportunism, as is apparently the case with Brown. Every time the governor starts running for president, his stock in the California polls drops significantly.

Leadership, almost by definition, requires the taking of political risks. Today, that can be extremely dangerous, and politicians exercise great caution in protecting their backsides. The prevailing view is that a politician can only survive by following the public, not leading it.

• ***The growing importance of the polls.*** This is the era of instant public opinion. Only a few days after an issue enters the spotlight, the pollsters are out with their statistics on how various elements of the public feel on that issue. Politicians watch polls very closely and most often act in accord with the majority.

• ***The politicians' fear of single-issue constituencies.*** In some areas, officeholders and candidates fear reprisals from powerful special interests. Some legislators in Sacramento, for example, shunt aside their personal feelings and the polls on an issue like handgun control because the pro-gun forces are so well organized.

• ***Politicians must produce today, not tomorrow.*** The media don't give politicians time to orchestrate long-term campaigns to bring about changes in public policies and institutions. This is the era of the "now generation" and the media demand instant victories (and defeats). This runs directly counter to two prime qualities of leadership: tenacity and endurance.

• ***Politicians of today are clinicians, not philosophers.*** As speaker of the Assembly, Jesse Unruh tried both to solve the pressing problems of the day and to develop long-range programs for the state. Now, there are few politicians on the scene with the time or the inclination to build something for future generations. They must deal with the demands of the current crop of voters, and for most officeholders that seems like more than enough work.

The outsiders' handicap

There is also some evidence that Californians prefer to obtain their political leaders from outside the realm of government. In fact, Ronald Reagan based his first gubernatorial campaign on the theme that he was a non-politician. Over the past 20 years, in fact, there have been quite a few successful

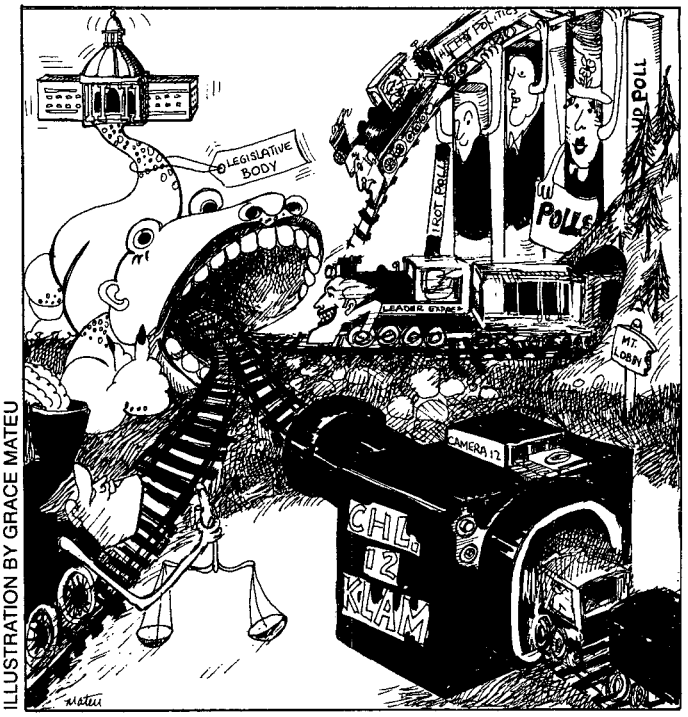

ILLUSTRATION BY GRACE MATEU

Republicans who have come into politics from outside, among them Mike Curb, S. I. Hayakawa and George Murphy. The public's heroes these days are anti-politicians like Howard Jarvis and Paul Gann. It is quite difficult for a non-politician to become a successful leader because there is built-in resentment against the outsider from the bulk of politicians. Jerry Brown has run into trouble with the Legislature in part because he jumped over a generation of Democratic politicians and in part because he cast himself in the role of anti-politician unwilling to play by the regular rules of the game. This attitude has hurt him in his effort to gain organizational support across the country for his presidential candidacy.

At the national level, it appears that the voters want a strong leader in the White House. That is one reason why Senator Edward Kennedy did so well in the early opinion polls. The Kennedy name implies leadership ability, although that image was developed primarily through the mediagenic qualities of the Kennedy family. In California, there appears to be no such search for strong leadership. The political parties have been especially weak in the state and the main emphasis in recent years has been on television-acting ability and computer-mailing techniques.

Whether Californians want them or not, leaders are bound to develop. Some jobs, like governor and speaker, carry so much power that the offices can virtually create a leader. Yet, it is almost impossible to predict who will emerge as the state's new leaders in the 1980s. McCarthy was a relatively obscure assemblyman when he won an upset election to become speaker. Cranston was also in political obscurity a dozen years ago, having been defeated in a run for re-election as state controller in 1966. But he rebounded to win a Senate seat and then displayed remarkable legislative skill to become one of the top Democrats in Washington. Nevertheless, there are some politicians who are within reasonable reach of leadership status. In fact, a couple of them might be considered leaders already, depending upon definition.

• ***Statewide officials.*** Unruh, State Controller Ken Cory and Secretary of State March Fong Eu are all being mentioned as possible Democratic candidates for governor. Cory or Unruh could be strong leaders. Among Republicans, both Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb and Attorney General George Deukmejian must be considered potential gubernato-

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rial candidates. Deukmejian would probably be the stronger leader, primarily because he knows a great deal more than Curb about state government.

• ***Judiciary.*** California has had some extremely influential chief justices, including Phil Gibson and Roger Traynor. The current chief justice, Rose Elizabeth Bird, has been so controversial that she has been unable to lead. As a Brown Administration agency secretary, she was a powerhouse leader who ran her departments with an iron hand. She has not done nearly as well in a collegial environment. But Bird is tenacious and holds strong beliefs. In time, with a reduction in conflict and controversy, she could bring about major changes in the California judiciary.

• ***Congressional delegation.*** Democrat Phil Burton has been grasping for a top leadership post in the House of Representatives for years. He is expected to try again when the speakership becomes vacant. Burton is a humorless workaholic who is determined to become a king among the political animals. Others in the House delegation who have shown leadership inclinations or a desire to seek statewide office include Democrats Norman Mineta, Leon Panetta and Henry Waxman, and Republicans Pete McCloskey, Robert Dornan, Barry Goldwater Jr. and John Rousselot. Over the years, however, the delegation has not been potent in Washington and there is no reason to believe that the nation's largest delegation will change its stripes in the 1980s.

• ***Senate.*** Republican leader Bill Campbell is talking about running for governor in 1982, and GOP caucus chairman Ken Maddy also plans to run for statewide office (possibly United States senator in 1982). Ultra-conservative Republican Bill Richardson has built his own organization of gun owners but does not have a large following in the Senate. President pro Tempore Mills has talked about running for statewide office, but he is more likely to take a federal transportation post.

• ***Assembly.*** It is especially difficult to forecast which of the 80 members of the lower house will rise to prominence. A year ago, who would have picked Carol Hallett and Charles Imbrecht to become the Repulbican top guns? Crowns are so shaky in the Assembly that there is no guarantee that either of them would be a party leader should the GOP capture control of the Assembly and thus the speakership. Who would have guessed that Berman would have made an attempt to topple McCarthy in 1980 — two years before McCarthy planned to step down for a run at governor or United States senator? (An argument could be made that Berman had achieved full leadership status even before he announced that he was seeking election as speaker.) Other Democrats who are awaiting opportunities to move ahead of the pack include Mel Levine, Torres, Willie Brown and Dennis Mangers.

• ***Mayors.*** At least two mayors of major cities could become major factors in the gubernatorial election of 1982 — Republican Pete Wilson of San Diego and Democrat Tom Bradley of Los Angeles.

More than ever, the successful politicians of the 1980s will have to know how to develop name identification, raise funds, and sell themselves on the television screens. If they happen to have the qualities of leadership, that will be strictly coincidental.

Newsmakers

The Berman challenge

On December 11th, Assembly Speaker **Leo McCarthy** was dealt a severe blow by one of his top lieutenants, majority leader **Howard Berman.** At a news conference, Berman announced that he would challenge McCarthy for the speakership when the Legislature convenes on January 7th. Berman said McCarthy had angered many Assembly Democrats by concentrating on the collection of funds for a 1982 statewide race, instead of helping lower house members win reelection.

That same day, voters of San Francisco elected **Dianne Feinstein** to a four-year term as mayor over Supervisor **Quentin Kopp.** The vote was 102,233 to 87,226. Feinstein was one of the city's few incumbents to come out on top. The voters threw out of office District Attorney **Joseph Freitas,** Sheriff **Eugene Brown** and four supervisors.

Former United States appeals judge **Shirley M. Hufstedler** of Los Angeles was sworn into office as the first federal secretary of education. She is considered a hot prospect for future appointment to the U. S. Supreme Court . . . Three high-ranking officials of the Reagan-for-president organization have resigned, primarily because of differences with campaign chief **John Sears.** Gone are **Lyn Nofziger, Michael Deaver** and **Martin Anderson** . . . Several Republican financial angels tried to lure tax-revolt leader **Paul Gann** into the GOP primary for the Senate seat held by Democrat Alan Cranston.

Former Assemblyman **Tom Suitt** has agreed to pay a $2,500 penalty for failing to disclose use of a legislative employee in his 1976 re-election campaign . . . Former Lieutenant Governor **Mervyn Dymally** may run in the Democratic primary next June against Congressman **Charles Wilson.** Former Congressman **Mark Hannaford** had previously indicated he would challenge Wilson . . . Former Assemblyman **Mike Antonovich** announced he would run against Supervisor **Baxter Ward** of Los Angeles.

The state Fair Political Practices Commission issued complaints against **Dugald Gillies** and **Jack Shelby,** lobbyists for the California Association of Realtors, for failing to file monthly spending reports on time . . . The Orange County Board of Supervisors hired **Bob St. Clair,** former professional football player, as the county's advocate in Sacramento . . . Federal prosecutor **Herman Sillas** announced that he has concluded an investigation of former state Senator **Alfred Song** and that no charges will be filed . . . Republican Assemblyman **Richard Hayden** of Sunnyvale announced he would not seek reelection or any other office this year.

The Senate Rules Committee selected Democrat **Bob Wilson** of San Diego as the new chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee . . . **Gerald Hayward,** former consultant to the Senate Education Committee, was named chancellor of the California Community Colleges . . . Superior Court Judge **Thomas Kongsgaard** of Napa has been elected acting chairman of the state Commission on Judicial Performance . . . President Carter nominated **Stephen E. Reinhardt,** of Los Angeles, a prominent Democratic Party figure, to a seat on the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.

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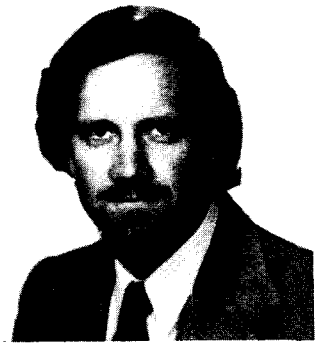
STRICTLY OPINION

*With this column, the **Journal** provides a forum for those wishing to express opinions on California political issues. Inquiries about future columns are encouraged.*



The Duke Strikes Again

By Jim Tucker

The Office of the Attorney General announced that a successful raid personally spearheaded by Attorney General George "Duke" Deukmejian had been staged at sunset today, netting the infamous Capitol "Cat Lady." The "Cat Lady" is alleged to have, for a number of years, been feeding stray cats on a daily basis in Capitol Park in violation of a park ordinance.

The "Duke" personally sat at the controls of the lead helicopter which purportedly swooped down on the unsuspecting "Cat Lady" as she was in the act of feeding a number of allegedly stray cats. Deukmejian was wearing a catnip-scented flack jacket and carried cans of sardines so as not to scare off the cats who were taken into custody as material witnesses.

Accompanying the attorney general were two armored support helicopters as well as sharpshooters stationed on the tops of nearby state buildings. Helicopters from all the major television networks also whirled above the action on the ground. They were present to record this momentous event at the personal invitation of Deukmejian.

The raid had additional support from seven plainclothes investigators from the attorney general's staff who were disguised as various types of trees. Investigator Robert Sikowski, chief of the up-to-now secret "Tree Unit," told reporters after the raid, "This was a particularly tough assignment and called for highly specialized work on the part of our technical staff. As you know, the Capitol Park is known for its great variety of trees. This meant that in order to avoid suspicion we could not all disguise ourselves as redwoods. Some were maples, some eucalyptus and the toughest was the giant cactus." When asked what was the most difficult part of this six-month surveillance, Sikowski quickly replied, "The dogs."

The "Tree Unit" is thought to be the first of its kind in the nation and was the result of an $850,000 grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA).

The only incident in the raid occurred when two cats lunged at the "Duke," apparently attempting to get some sardines. They were arrested for assaulting a state official.

At a wide-ranging news conference held at the scene of the arrest, Deukmejian indicated that this was the beginning of a program to insure "Peace in Our Parks" and that similar surveillance by the ultra-modern "Tree Unit" would be conducted throughout the state. "This should stand as a clear message to those who want to abuse our parks that they can no longer act with impunity," Deukmejian said. Attacking the permissiveness of state government, the attorney general noted that officials had permitted this kind of activity to go on literally in the shadow of the state Capitol: "You can't have 10 cats being fed daily in the park without someone knowing it." When asked if he was referring to the governor, who is known to jog by the area of the arrest, Deukmejian responded, "I'll let you draw your own conclusions."

With the setting sun blazing a bright red in the background, the "Duke" hinted that the "Cat Lady" raid may be more than just a drive to clean up the parks. "Our new organized crime unit has turned up evidence of a significant influx of Mafia money into the California cat food industry. Recent raids of several lawyers' offices, including a well-known entertainment law firm that represents Morris the Cat, have provided evidence that the Mafia may be using unsuspecting cats as drug 'couriers.' We think it's highly suspect that a person would feed a stray cat without some other motive." Asked what he meant by "other motive," Deukmejian stated that because of ongoing investigations he couldn't comment further.

However, he was willing to comment on another familiar theme: "We would have cracked this case much earlier if the Legislature had not tied our hands by failing to pass our tree-bugging bill. For years I have attempted, both as a senator and as the attorney general, to obtain passage of a tree-bugging bill which would have permitted the placing of small, unobtrusive listening devices in state-owned trees. However, bleeding heart liberals in the Assembly Criminal Justice Committee have chosen to side with the criminals rather than the honest, law-abiding people who wouldn't be caught dead in a park anyway, and the committee has consistently killed my bills. With this legislation we could have avoided the expense, and of course the dog problem, of a Tree Unit," the general added.

Deukmejian further assailed the Legislature for failing to pass his much-publicized "use a tuna, go to jail" bill which would have provided a mandatory sentence for anyone convicted of feeding an animal not his or her own. This kind of "tough legislation" is needed, he said, to "break the Mafia-cat food connection in California."

Paraphrasing President John Kennedy, Deukmejian stated, "We will pay any price to stop crime." When asked if he was advocating an abrogation of the Constitution, the "Duke" replied, "I'm sure the founding fathers never intended that the Bill of Rights should apply to common criminals."

Jim Tucker, a legislative advocate for the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, found his inspiration in press reports of Attorney General Deukmejian's recent raids on marijuana fields in Northern California.

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SPECIAL 10TH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

Ten-year report from the publisher . . .

The tale of the founding, fall and rise of the Journal

By Thomas R. Hoeber

The premature heat of June 1971 in Sacramento was not conducive to clear thinking. Nor was the fact that we were $65,000 in debt and had run out of ways to persuade the printer to publish yet another issue of the *California Journal* on credit. It was easier to think back to the euphoria of the first few months.

In the fall of 1969, I decided to leave the legislative staff where I worked for more than four years. Among several alternatives I considered starting a magazine which would be to California what *Congressional Quarterly* was to Washington — an authoritative, nonpartisan journal of record of actions in the political, legislative and administrative arenas of government. Judson Clark, who had left the legislative staff a year before to start a consulting business, was — unbeknownst to me — thinking along similar lines. A mutual friend, Victor H. Fazio, brought us together, and by Thanksgiving 1969 we three decided to start the *California Journal*. (Fazio had the good sense to leave after one year and now serves in Congress.)

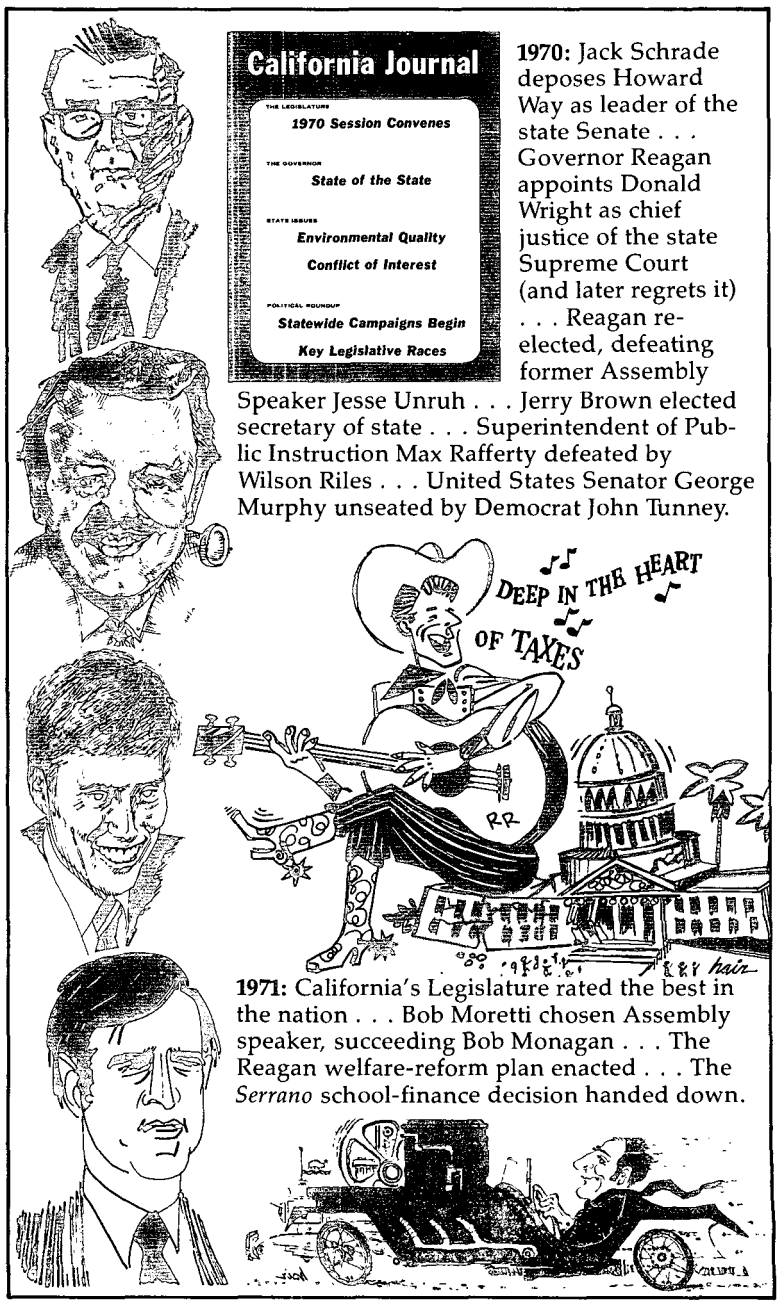
We were well qualified to start a publication: Jud's father was a reporter, Vic had run a political campaign or two and I had once been a copyboy and bookstore clerk. Obviously we possessed the journalistic, promotion and business experience necessary for the undertaking. Actually, our best qualification was our ignorance; if we had known then what we knew 18 months later, we would never have started the *Journal*.

December 1969 was a frenzy of budget-writing, discussions with printers, office-hunting and magazine design. A few of those design elements survive to this day, such as our Century typeface, the blue color and the 20-pica column measure, though our overall design, especially of covers, has changed dramatically.

Covering costs

To be conservative in budget planning, we defined potential markets for the magazine and then projected the most modest circulation figures we could imagine. At the last moment we cut even these figures in half to be extra-safe. Our circulation projection? Ten thousand at the end of the first year. We achieved it, finally, at the end of six years.

The *Journal* was to be capitalized with $5,000 from each of the founders. Printing costs would be covered by subscription revenue and at least 70 percent of staff salaries would be covered by income from the consulting business called California Research Consultants (since shortened to California Research). When circulation didn't grow as fast



1970: Jack Schrade deposes Howard Way as leader of the state Senate . . . Governor Reagan appoints Donald Wright as chief justice of the state Supreme Court (and later regrets it) . . . Reagan re-elected, defeating former Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh . . . Jerry Brown elected secretary of state . . . Superintendent of Public Instruction Max Rafferty defeated by Wilson Riles . . . United States Senator George Murphy unseated by Democrat John Tunney.

1971: California's Legislature rated the best in the nation . . . Bob Moretti chosen Assembly speaker, succeeding Bob Monagan . . . The Reagan welfare-reform plan enacted . . . The *Serrano* school-finance decision handed down.

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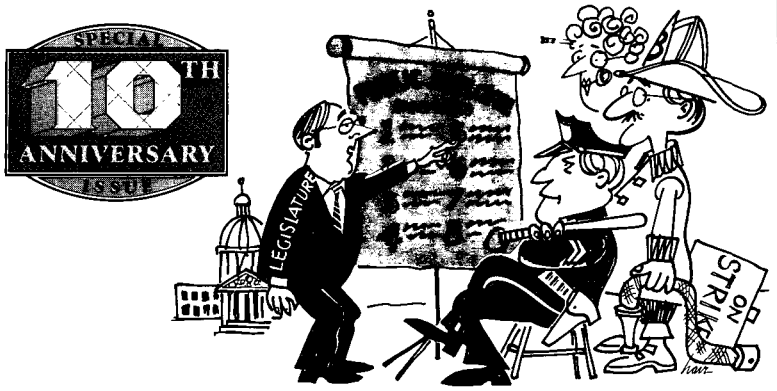
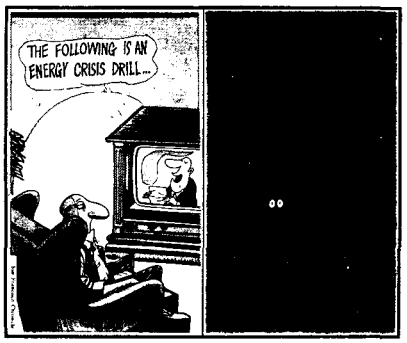
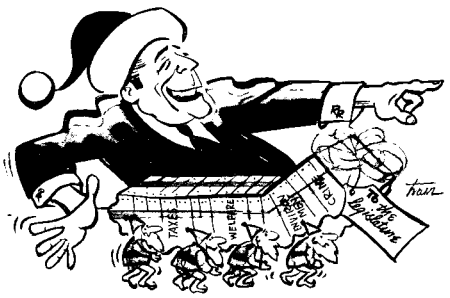
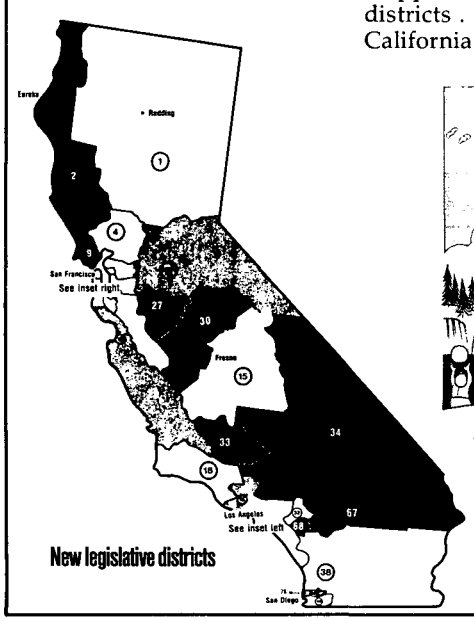




1972: State government hit with the first strike in history, a four-day walk-out by water-project workers . . . Voters pass the Coastal Zone Conservation Act.



1973: The Reagan spending-limit initiative defeated at a special election . . . The Supreme Court reapportions the state's legislative districts . . . The energy crisis hits California.



as our projections, the first step was to permit additional partners (and add their share to the capital fund). By April 1970, Jerry Evans and William Geyer — and a year later Michael Wenstrom — joined the consulting/*Journal* business. The next step was to have each partner increase his financial contribution. That still wasn't enough — but I'm getting ahead of the story.

The first issue, dated "January 1 - 31, 1970, was published on February 5th, 1970. We threw a wine and cheese reception to which all our friends, legislators, press corps members and business associates were invited. The place was jammed, the TV news cameras added excitement, and our prospects seemed limitless.

Seventeen months later, after having stretched our financial resources as far as our friends and bankers would allow, working an average of 100-plus hours per week, after taking salaries that were a fraction of what we needed, it was all over. The *Journal* was known to a miniscule 2,500 subscribers — respected, perhaps, but unable to continue publication. The magazine had turned out regular, if somewhat dull, reporting on state government and politics, and we had learned a great deal about the difficulties of good reporting and the high cost of production and promotion. A number of friends and relatives had loaned us $1,000 or $2,000 each to help meet the cost of another issue or two, but we had guaranteed these notes personally and we still did not have the capital to launch a substantial, on-going promotional effort to build circulation, much less the resources to survive until that effort produced renewal income.

In desperation that hot June of 1971, I sent a letter to a distant friend of a friend at the Ford Foundation, describing our plight and indicating we could not publish another issue. Within days a telegram from the foundation arrived: "Do not suspend publication; we are interested in exploring grant support." It was only a small piece of yellow paper but it marked what must be the fastest grant approval in history and the beginning of *California Journal* as we know it today. There were immeasurable problems yet to solve: creating a non-profit, tax-exempt corporation (the California Center for Research and Education in Government); untangling of personal and corporate finances (one of the *Journal's* founders paid off the last installment of the capitalization loan just this year); legally separating California Research from *California Journal;* developing a sound promotional program, and professionalizing the editorial staff, to mention a few. But now, for the first time we had an informed belief that the long-term survival of the *Journal* was possible.

Picking an editor

Between mid-1971 and mid-1973 the *Journal* moved into its present offices, established a board of directors chaired by Eugene C. Lee who has served continuously since then, successfully sought matching grant support, most notably from the Michael J. Connell Foundation of Los Angeles, and mailed the first regular large-scale subscription solicitation. We also hired our first experienced journalist, Bruce Keppel, who stayed with the *Journal* until 1976.

Until the summer of 1973 I wore the green eye-shade of editor and the grey vest of publisher. Clearly it was time to divide these responsibilities so that each could get the full attention it needed. We made up a priority list of the persons most qualified for the position of editor and started at the top, figuring we'd have to go quite a way down the list to attract someone to the still-not-financially-secure *Journal*. Ed Salzman was first on the list. In embarrassment I broached the subject something like: "I know you wouldn't be interested, but maybe you could give me some ideas on other people on

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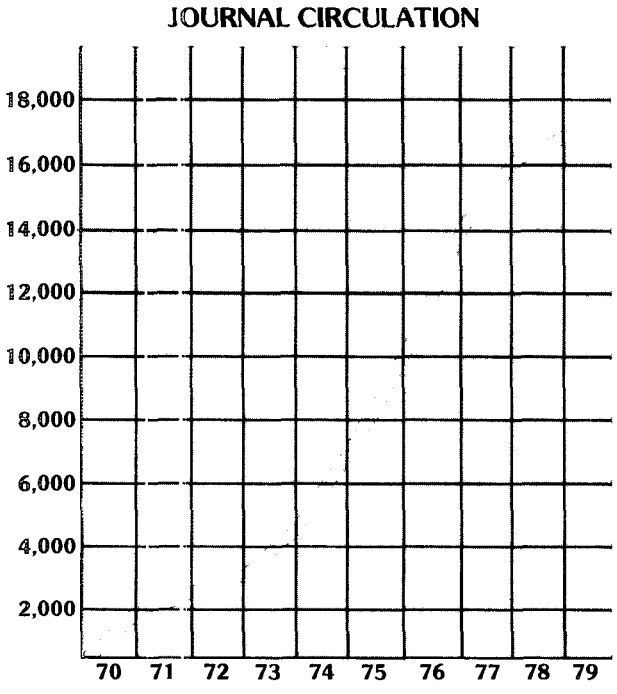
the list." Salzman accepted on the spot. (He reminds me, however, that I failed to indicate I couldn't afford to pay the offered salary and would have to raise it from foundations in the months to come.) He proceeded to enliven the magazine, attracting leading writers from around the state, and a rapid period of circulation growth ensued. Salzman brought on board an art director, Jan Castle, who gave consistent design quality to the *Journal*.

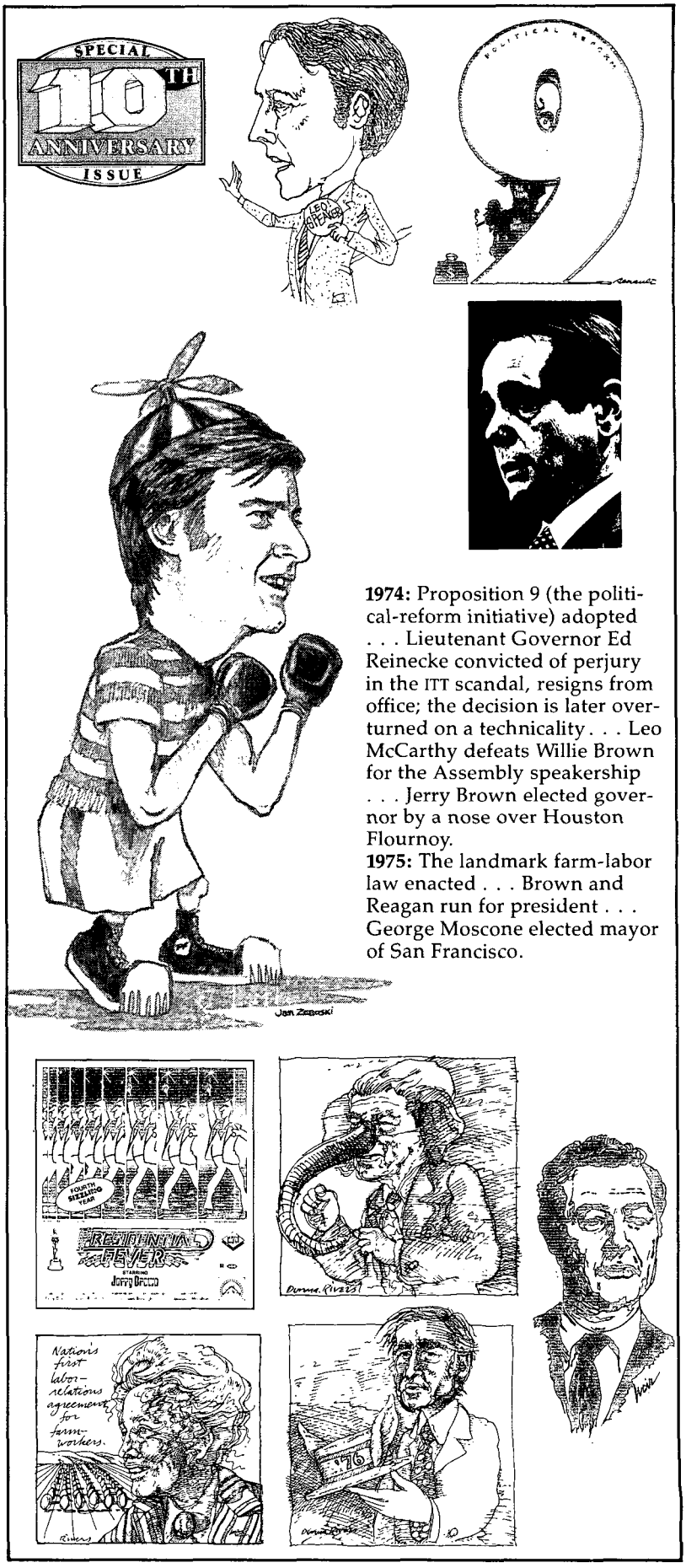
California Journal always was and will remain the central activity of the California Center for Research and Education in Government, our legal umbrella. However, the Center's mission to provide research and information dissemination on California government covers other functions. In 1974, the Center undertook a major study of media coverage of the gubernatorial campaign which resulted in a book, *Phantom Politics*, by Mary Ellen Leary. During 1974 to 1976, the *Journal* staff hosted a weekly television program entitled California Journal on the public broadcasting network statewide. In 1977, California Journal Press was launched with publication of *Reporting: An Inside View* by longtime *Journal* Washington correspondent Lou Cannon. The Press now publishes three or four books a year including the *California Government and Politics Annual*, of which some 6 - 7,000 are distributed to students each year, and the *Almanac of State Government and Politics*, of which some 3,000 copies are distributed to the public every two years.

In 1978 - 79 the Center undertook a one-year study of the impact of Proposition 13 and published a newsletter called *Tax Revolt Digest*. This project continues in another form this year, analyzing effects of Proposition 13, its offspring, and citizen initiatives in general. And throughout its history the *Journal* has sponsored an ad hoc internship program which was formalized by the board last October as the Frank Mesplé Internship Fund.

Over the years *California Journal* has served as the model for similar publications in other states, the most successful of which are in Illinois and New York. We were actively involved in the early planning stages of *Illinois Issues* and *Empire State Report*, both of which are now five years old.



In 1977 - 78 *California Journal* achieved the goal which seemed so easy in 1970 and totally unobtainable in 1971:



1974: Proposition 9 (the political-reform initiative) adopted . . . Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke convicted of perjury in the ITT scandal, resigns from office; the decision is later overturned on a technicality . . . Leo McCarthy defeats Willie Brown for the Assembly speakership . . . Jerry Brown elected governor by a nose over Houston Flournoy.
1975: The landmark farm-labor law enacted . . . Brown and Reagan run for president . . . George Moscone elected mayor of San Francisco.

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1976: The two-year drought begins . . . Senator Tunney defeated by Republican S. I. Hayakawa . . . Rose Vuich of Dinuba becomes California's first female state Senator.
1977: California's Alan Cranston chosen Democratic whip of the U.S. Senate . . . Determinate-sentence law goes into effect . . . Rose Bird appointed chief justice . . . Supreme Court Justice Marshall McComb forced to retire on grounds of senility . . . Dow Chemical withdraws plan to build big plant in the San Francisco Bay Area.

The *Journal* became self-supporting without the need for grant support. This happy circumstance continued in 1978 - 79 with the help of some overhead support from a related research grant.

The future, however, is not so cheerful. Our current circulation is about 17,000 per month. It is a considerable compliment to both our readers and our editors that we have achieved this level, but for the last 18 months our circulation has remained constant, and the inflationary spiral bodes ill for the future financial wellbeing of the magazine. The growing revenue-expenditure gap can be filled in a number of ways:

- ***We could take advertising*** in the *Journal*, an alternative we evaluated regularly and rejected because of potential reader-credibility problems it might create.
- ***We could cut back*** on the length, frequency and quality of the editorial product — an alternative we have always rejected without serious consideration.
- ***We could raise*** subscription prices — a tactic we used only once. (The base price was increased from $15 to $18 per year in 1978.) Interestingly, a price increase seems to have little impact on circulation — further testimony to our readers' loyalty but a discouragement to potential outreach.
- ***We could seek*** ongoing grant support from foundations and corporations to underwrite the growing operating deficit, an alternative donors like no better than we do.

The above options are in reserve; instead, we have taken yet another approach. We have launched a two-year, $150,000 marketing project to boost circulation to the point where the *Journal* can remain self-supporting for the foreseeable future. The project is supervised by Barbara Aguirre, our circulation manager, who joined the *Journal* way back in 1971. We are seeking corporation and foundation grants to endow, in effect, a revolving fund for circulation promotion which will be replenished by revenue from new promotion and supplemented as necessary from *Journal* operating funds. This is an ambitious, bootstrap effort to reach a new circulation plateau which will assure long-term fiscal security.

Loyal subscribers

As wrong as we were in 1970 in estimating the financial difficulties of launching the *Journal*, the magazine today has exceeded our fondest hopes in terms of acceptance by the public and impact on the political process. Our readers are the most loyal of any publication, measured by their phenomenal renewal rates. It's been a great first decade.

What can our readers expect in the decade to come? First, a larger and ever more interesting *Journal*, with more reporting of stories not covered elsewhere. Secondly, the Center can be expected to expand its research activities to cover many of the complex issue areas where independent, citizen-based research can contribute to public policy. The *Journal* will serve as a medium to disseminate information from such studies. The *Journal's* present internship program serves as the base for a potentially large and vital training program for journalists and citizens in general who wish to become more knowledgeable in state government. *California Journal Press* should continue to grow to meet the substantial need for citizen-oriented publications about state government. Finally, new and expanded opportunities to communicate through the electronic media will allow *California Journal* to reach a far wider audience.

With continuing support from our many friends and readers, we look forward to the 1980s, our second decade, with enthusiasm and optimism — an optimism now anchored in a reality not known to us 10 years ago.

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California Journal Honor Roll

Thanking all those who helped the *California Journal* would take almost an entire magazine. There are more than 16,000 subscribers now and thousands more over the years. And more than 1,000 persons have made contributions to the *Journal* beyond the subscription price.

However, with apologies to those we have inevitably omitted, the following deserve special recognition for their support over the last ten years. Many have helped in several capacities.

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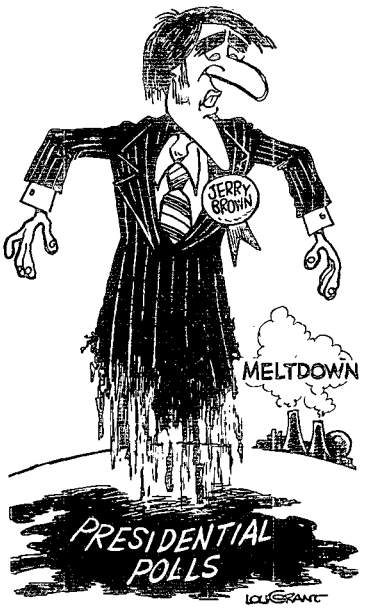
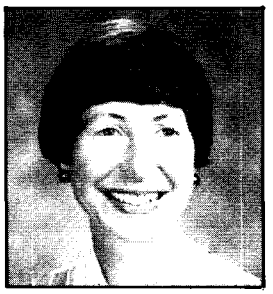
. . . and the scores of artists, interns and writers who have contributed to the *Journal* through the years.

SPECIAL 10TH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE



1978: The Jarvis-Gann property-tax initiative approved . . . Proposed Sundesert nuclear power plant killed . . . Brown wins second term as governor by wide margin over Evelle Younger . . . Bird retained as chief justice, but with only 52 percent of the vote . . . Mayor Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk of San Francisco assassinated.

1979: Brown and Reagan run for president again . . . The Gann spending-limit initiative approved, as is a proposition designed to halt busing of students in Los Angeles . . . An investigation of the Supreme Court fizzles after the proceedings are forced behind closed doors . . . Carol Hallett elected Assembly minority leader . . . A series of Brown vetoes overridden.



The post-13 Legislature — beautiful for business

By VIC POLLARD

"Public calls shots in '79 session," exulted the headline in the California Chamber of Commerce bulletin as the state Legislature adjourned for its interim recess last September.

It seems somehow appropriate that one of the best summaries of the legislative record for last year came from the state's largest business organization. The lawmakers indeed marched very carefully to the beat of the taxpayers' rebellion that had been touched off the year before by Howard Jarvis and Paul Gann. And with that trend came a wave of conservatism and pro-business sentiment that saw special-interest lobbyists running up their biggest gains in recent memory.

In their enthusiasm for tax-cutting, the lawmakers put off tough decisions on a long list of economic and social issues. Thus, as the Legislature reconvened this month for the second half of its two-year session, it faced a formidable agenda of problems that are only growing worse with the passage of time. These include water development, the cost of housing and health care, no-fault auto insurance and the Medi-Cal mess.

Compounding those problems is a distinct leadership gap that troubles many veteran observers in the Capitol. While Governor Brown pursues his presidential ambitions, the state's major issues will be left to a legislative tug-of-war between liberal and conservative forces in the Legislature. And as they head into the 1980 election year, leaders of both parties will have more difficulty keeping their troops behind them.

Here are some of the political realities that emerged during the first full legislative session after Proposition 13 — and the likely results in 1980:

• ***Tax-cut fever reached epidemic proportions,*** with much public posturing and scrapping over who was to get credit for which cuts.

A mood of apprehension prevailed in Sacramento last January and persisted through most of the year. Democrats were relieved to have survived the 1978 elections with their majority intact, and they were grimly determined never to get caught at the rear of a tax-cut parade again. Republicans were delighted at the nine seats they had gained and spoiling for a fight that could give them any advantage in 1980, when election shifts will be crucial in reapportionment.

Producing a permanent state aid program for local governments occupied much of the lawmakers' energies for the first six months of the year. They agreed on a $4.85 billion bailout plan designed to keep the schools afloat and cities and counties in operation. The major political side-effect of the program was its instant obliteration of most of the so-called "obscene" state budget surplus that had fueled much of the anger of the taxpayers.

Once that was done, the lawmakers sought to appease the voters further by slashing or eliminating a variety of state taxes. When they finished, they had indexed state income taxes to compensate for inflation, abolished the business inventory tax, boosted tax credits for renters and refunded much of the bulging state disability insurance fund. That will further reduce state revenue by a total of more than $1.2 billion. In a possible recession, the results could be serious.

It was clear that the rush to join the parade of tax-whackers was largely motivated by the threat of the "Jarvis II" initiative to cut state income taxes in half, probably to be decided in June. To dilute its appeal, the Legislature and its leaders — including liberal Democratic Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy — lined up solidly behind Gann's "Spirit of 13" government-spending-limits initiative. But even before the predictably overwhelming approval of that measure in the November special election, voices as conservative as that of Assembly Republican Leader Carol Hallett were warning that the new Jarvis measure may be "too much too soon."

• ***The biggest battles went on largely behind the scenes,*** as business lobbyists and other conservative interests found themselves in the most congenial legislative atmosphere in years.

The hero-symbol of the 1979 session was not Speaker McCarthy, Senate President pro Tempore James Mills, Governor Brown or even Jarvis and Gann. It was instead Lou Papan, the Democratic assemblyman from Daly City who dealt Brown his most stinging defeat on a veto override in a year which saw a record number of overrides. Papan's bill to bar banks from selling insurance gets everyone's vote as the most intensely lobbied measure of the session.

The session produced an impressive list of gains for business and industry in general. One of the biggest — and easiest — was the hasty repeal of the litter tax. It followed an explosion of outrage when the first bills for the tax landed in the mailboxes of surprised businessmen. The litter tax was initially supported by business three years ago as a maneuver to avert the environmentalist-backed container deposit legislation. However, the atmosphere of the 1979 session produced the litter-tax repeal without any noticeable increase in the chances for passage of the bottle bill sponsored by state Senator Omer Rains of Ventura.

Among other victories for business were bills to allow local governments to issue industrial development bonds, to limit product liability, to restrict local government fees and assessments and to allow local governments to enter into binding development agreements. Then an obliging Legislature placed a proposal to lift the ceiling on some interest rates on the special November ballot, where it was easily approved.

• ***A steep rise in lobbying expenses*** from special-interest groups accompanied the success of business interests. Although there are no totals yet for 1979, the state political reform commission reported that spending for lobbying purposes rose 25 percent, to $49.7 million, during the 1977 - 78 session. Most of that was spent to influence rate-increase decisions pending before the Public Utilities Commission, but $18.3 million of it came from non-utility business organizations. Fifty-one lobbyists reported receipts of more

Vic Pollard covers the Capitol for Gannett News Service.

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than $100,000; nine of them listed more than $200,000. These figures do not include the spending of trade associations which maintain their own lobbying staffs, such as the Chamber of Commerce, the California Manufacturers Association and the California Association of Realtors.

• ***The wining and dining of legislators rose sharply, as did special-interest campaign contributions.*** Statistics from the Fair Political Practices Commission indicate that legislators and lobbyists are re-establishing the comfortable relationship which was disrupted by uneasiness after the passage in 1974 of Proposition 9, a political reform effort. The most dramatic increase in lobbying expenses occurred in the cost of entertaining legislators and other state officials. Reports in that category rose five-fold, from $22,000 to $108,000, between 1975-76 and 1977-78. Campaign contributions increased at an even steeper rate, with business groups, financial institutions and insurance organizations reporting donations of more than $18.4 million. While no totals are available yet, 1979 appears to have set a record for off-year contributions. An unprecedented rash of high-priced fund-raising functions benefited incumbent lawmakers, many of whom face only token opposition this year.

• ***Conservative political groups pulled out all the stops to pass a series of anti-crime bills;*** liberals lost some key battles. The conservatives' chief victory was SB 13, by state Senator H. L. (Bill) Richardson of Arcadia, which imposed the toughest rape sentences in the nation. Other victories: an $11.8 million spending bill for construction of new prisons and a bill encouraging treatment of older juvenile offenders as adults.

With a couple of exceptions, liberals suffered defeats on a wide variety of fronts. Although Rains' bottle bill made it to the Senate floor for the first time, it remains solidly blocked by a phalanx of business and labor groups. Other liberal proposals, such as a reduction in marijuana penalties and an anti-job-discrimination measure for homosexuals, suffered similar fates. In one of their few victories, liberals managed to block Governor Brown's proposal to endorse a constitutional convention to require a balanced federal budget.

• ***Relations between the Legislature and the governor started out low*** last January and headed downhill from there. The lawmakers dealt Brown a record number of veto overrides, including two on his cuts in the state employee pay raises. Toward the end of the session, however, Brown made a concerted effort to repair his relations with the Legislature. By the time lawmakers went home, Brown's executive assistant, Gray Davis, could boast that the governor had substantially improved his legislative record over the previous couple of years.

In addition to the administration-backed prison funding, the lawmakers granted Brown's request for $100 million for housing construction, $34.5 million for energy conservation and development and $25 million for job training. They also agreed to make reforms in the bail system.

It was not an unmixed picture, however. The lawmakers virtually ignored Brown's highly touted proposal to cut spending by abolishing a number of minor boards and commissions. Administration lobbyists couldn't find a single legislator willing to carry the bills.

• ***Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy had his own troubles.*** The conservative tide produced the first crack in the committee system carefully maintained by McCarthy and his predecessors to screen out right-wing legislation sent over from the Senate. McCarthy was forced to accept a face-saving compromise as law-and-order supporters pried the Richardson rape bill out of the Criminal Justice Committee. Then, less than a month before the start of the 1980 session, came the Howard Berman challenge that could cost McCarthy his leadership post.

• ***The Republican caucuses in both houses re-shuffled their leadership.*** The most significant change was the overthrow of Assembly Republican Leader Paul Priolo by Atascadero Assemblywoman Carol Hallett in a coup backed principally by GOP freshmen.

As the Legislature reconvened this month, water development had replaced tax reform at the top of nearly everyone's priority list, Republicans and Democrats alike. Southern California officials are growing frantic as the region's major water agency, the Metropolitan Water District, approaches the loss of much of its Colorado River water supply at mid-decade.

The governor's proposal for a $7 billion package of water development facilities, including the highly controversial Peripheral Canal, is certain to be the focus of the most intense lobbying battles in recent years. Water provides about the only issue on which Brown and Republican Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb agree. Curb has agreed to try to dislodge the Republican opposition that has kept the water bill, SB 200 by state Senator Ruben Ayala, bottled up in the Senate.

The battle provides one more validation of the old saying about political bedfellows: One of the operatives hired to work on the GOP opposition is former Senator Dennis Carpenter of Newport Beach, who, as the Republican leader of the upper house, played the key role in blocking passage of the program in the Senate for two years.

Here are other weighty issues that probably will be acted on in 1980:

• ***There is growing unrest*** about the spiraling cost of the Medi-Cal program, despite Brown's insistence that

ILLUSTRATION BY KELLI BULLOCK

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there are no major problems.

• ***No-fault auto insurance*** is "still coming around to haunt us," in the words of one legislative consultant.

• ***School districts*** last year struggled to a stalemate with minority representatives in their efforts to reduce the requirements for bilingual education.

• ***A firm decision*** on the level of funding for abortions was put off until this year by mutual agreement of both sides in that bitter debate.

• ***The administration's*** request to use half of a proposed $475 million state bond issue for a renewable-resources program may be in trouble because of Resources Secretary Huey Johnson's militantly pro-environmental posture on the New Melones Dam and other issues.

• ***A sleeper*** may be the attempt by the giant Citicorp of New York to crack California's ban on out-of-state banks doing business here. Papan has made veiled threats to back the measure in retaliation for the California banking industry's tactics in opposing his veto override.

In addition, Democratic liberals laid out an agenda that includes action to provide more affordable housing for low and middle-income residents, make improvements in the mental health program, and benefit senior citizens. And Hallett has vowed to try to keep the tax-cut bandwagon moving by seeking reductions in the sales tax on gasoline and the inheritance tax.

Regardless of the fates of these and other pending decisions, the Legislature faces two major uncertainties in the second half of its session. One is the effect of its relations with the governor, who is expected to be out of the state much of the time campaigning for president. The other is the potential threat of the Jarvis II initiative, or whatever else the voters may have left over in the way of tax-cutting fervor.

Inflation-free shopping from the

California Journal Press

We're doing our part to reduce inflation. Prices of **California Journal** books have not been raised in the past two years. Take, for example, the **California Journal Almanac of State Government and Politics.** The 1979-80 edition is being sold at the same price as the last edition, **$4.19** a copy, including tax.

The **Almanac** is the handy reference book that tells you at a glance almost anything you would want to know about current California politicians, the state's population, election results and even elected officials in other states. It belongs on the desk of anyone who is dealing with state government or who has an interest in state government and politics — and that means virtually every **Journal** reader.

Other inflation fighters

A great gift that entertains as it informs: **The Cartoon History of California Politics,** by Ed Salzman and Ann Leigh Brown, a 156-page book containing more than 100 drawings illustrating California's fascinating political history. Price: **$5.25.**

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The Whole Brown Catalog: **Jerry Brown: High Priest and Low Politician,** by Ed Salzman, with cartoons and photos. Price **$3.13.**

An indictment of the industry that helped Brown hide the 1974 gubernatorial campaign: **Phantom Politics: Campaigning in California,** by Mary Ellen Leary, a 191-page paperback book describing media coverage of California politics. Price: **$6.31.**

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State and local governments have escaped Proposition 13 relatively unscathed because of the huge state surplus. Proposition 4, the Gann "Spirit of 13" initiative, poses no threat because of inflation. But there would be no escape from the clutches of the governmental budget-cutters should voters approve

Jarvis II

By MAUREEN FITZGERALD

Howard Jarvis' proposed constitutional amendment, which would cut the state income tax in half, is quite different from its predecessors — the Jarvis-Gann initiative (Proposition 13) and the Gann "Spirit of 13" measure (Proposition 4). If Jarvis II is enacted this June, the impact will be immediate and inescapable. Both state and local governments in California will have to go on the austerity standard, something that has been avoided despite the intent of Propositions 13 and 4.

The Gann measure, adopted overwhelmingly by California voters in November, was supposed to finish the job started by 13 through the placement of spending limits on state and local governments. It was enacted with virtually no opposition because even the state's free spenders recognized that it would have little effect in the next few years. Proposition 4, which will become effective with the fiscal year starting July 1st, is considered more of a nuisance than a threat, because it will not force cutbacks in services but will require technical implementation.

A cinch to qualify

The new Jarvis proposal, considered a cinch to qualify for the ballot with the submission of about 800,000 signatures (a cushion of 250,000), would have just the opposite effect. It would be technically simple to implement but would pack a heavy fiscal wallop. The proposition would halve state income-tax rates, which now run from one to 11 percent. It also would exempt business inventories from property taxation and require that income-tax brackets be adjusted, or indexed, annually for inflation.

The Legislature has already wiped out the tax on business inventories and instituted an indexing plan. However, the current indexing act is good for only two years; the Jarvis proposal would make it permanent. The major threat to government budgets is the halving of the income-tax rates. Look at the impact that would have: This year, the state is spending $19 billion from its general fund, including $4.9 billion in Proposition 13 bailout funds to local governments. For next year, the state expects to have $20.7 billion — about $19.5 billion in revenues and a surplus of $1.2 billion. The Jarvis proposal would reduce state revenues for next year some $5 billion, forcing cutbacks far below the current level of appropriation — unless the Legislature adopts replacement taxes. (The $5 billion figure covers 18 months of income tax collections, loss of actual revenue for one full year plus reduced withholding for half of the second year.)

The disappearing surplus

During the Proposition 13 campaign, the state's large surplus was a political embarrassment to the opponents of the initiative. After the measure passed, the surplus provided the funds to prevent wholesale curtailment of local governmental services. This will not be the case with Jarvis II. The state surplus was built through extraordinary tax collections, especially income taxes, during a time of unusual economic conditions. Last year, the state spent $1.1 billion more than it collected. This year, that gap widened to $1.5 billion. Even without the passage of the new Jarvis measure, the state is facing an eventual year of reckoning. Fiscal experts say that the state would barely be able to provide the $5.3 billion it has earmarked for local-government bailout next year. That's why the Legislature placed a "deflator mechanism" in the bailout law — so that cutbacks could be made in the event revenues fall below $20.5 billion. The passage of Jarvis II would automatically invoke the deflator. If allowed to stand, the current law would drastically reduce allocations to local government. But the best bet is that the Legislature would go back to the drawing boards and take a new look at the entire governmental services picture in California.

Where will the cuts come? It is apparent that any wholesale chopping must come out of local assistance, which takes almost four-fifths of the state general-fund budget. And most of the money distributed to local agencies is spent for health, education and welfare programs.

What will Governor Brown and the Legislature do between now and the June election? Do they build a doomsday budget containing a hit list of programs that will be eliminated or cut back should Jarvis II pass? Will political leaders risk loss of political popularity by opposing the measure? Will lawmakers try to raise business taxes to recoup all or part of the projected loss from the Jarvis initiative?

Statistical justification can be found for increasing business taxes. Over the years, the personal income tax has been increasing as a contributor to the general fund, while the bank and corporation tax has been providing a somewhat smaller percentage of state revenues. And business was a prime beneficiary of the property tax cuts mandated by Proposition 13. But it would be difficult politically for the Legislature to increase any taxes. The public has the notion

Maureen Fitzgerald is the director of a "Citizen Democracy" research project being conducted by the Journal *with the assistance of a grant from the Ford Foundation.*

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that government is too fat, and the credibility of the Legislature is anything but high.

Thus, the best bet is that local government would have to fend for itself with less state money. There would undoubtedly be a substantial number of public employees laid off. (The state and local governments, including schools, now have a payroll total of about 1.3 million.) If the Proposition 13 experience is an indicator, the Legislature would probably try to avoid wholesale layoffs and the dismantling of entire programs. Because the poor are the major beneficiaries of health and welfare programs, they probably would be hit especially hard. The most common complaint from citizens next summer is apt to be: "They're cutting the wrong programs."

'Spirit of 13' unknowns

Californians who expect to see immediate results from the "Spirit of 13" initiative will be disappointed. The state and most local entities won't have enough money to even meet the spending limits of Proposition 4. At the time Proposition 4 was drafted, the cost of living was increasing at the rate of about 7 percent. But skyrocketing energy prices have almost doubled that rate in the past year. Limits under Gann are based on inflation and population (or the change in personal income, if it is lower than inflation and population). For state and local officials, the problems with Proposition 4 are technical. For example, what do some of the terms mean? Who will establish the limits, and who will police them? Here are a few other key questions to be answered:

- ***Mandates.*** The proposition requires that the state pay for any new duties it imposes on local government starting this year. But it is unclear whether the state must pay for mandates from 1975 through 1979.
- ***Population.*** Does the term refer to those who sleep in a governmental area? Can daytime commuters be counted? What are the figures for special districts with boundaries that do not coincide with cities? Can population be defined as units of service rather than people?
- ***Fees and service charges.*** Proposition 4 excludes from limits only fees that pay the cost of providing the service. How are those costs to be determined, and what factors should be considered?
- ***Growth.*** Proposition 4 makes no allowance for local-government expenditures to accommodate growth. Gann has indicated that he will support another initiative to amend Proposition 4 if his "Spirit of 13" actually inhibits growth.
- ***Schools.*** It may be determined that the *Serrano* case placed the entire school financing system under court mandate. In that case, all spending for schools would be exempt from the limits of Gann, and the initiative would be severely weakened.

Why was Proposition 4 drafted in such a way as to make it vulnerable to criticism? James Kennedy of the state Chamber of Commerce, one of the drafters of the measure, explained that the measure was written in October 1978 when it was not known how the Legislature would construct its long-term bailout bill. As a result, the drafters left most of the technical decisions to be made by the Legislature. Kennedy reported that sponsors of the measure are disturbed by some of the interpretations he claims would "do violence to the measure and invite court action." Among these are imaginative definitions of "average daily attendance" and "population."

Unresolved issues

The job of implementing Proposition 4 comes at a time when the state does not yet know the full meaning of its predecessor, Proposition 13. In general, state and local officials have managed to maintain most governmental services in the post-13 era, with the major exception of summer-school sessions. Among the Proposition 13 issues remaining to be resolved:

- ***Special tax.*** Propositions 13 requires a two-thirds favorable vote to impose a "special tax" but the term was not defined. There are a number of legal challenges to service charges which were imposed by local agencies without voter approval after the passage of 13.
- ***Bonds.*** The Jarvis-Gann initiative virtually eradicated the general obligation bond, the basic tool of government to provide funds for capital projects. Now, how will local public-works projects be financed?
- ***Retirement levies.*** Some cities found a huge loophole in Proposition 13. The initiative allowed a surtax to retire voter-approved outstanding debt. This was designed to cover bonded debt, but some municipalities applied it to voter-approved retirement programs. This interpretation is being challenged in the courts.
- ***Housing.*** Proposition 13 was supposed to reduce housing costs. But the cost of housing units has continued a rapid upward climb, and rent controls have been instituted in several major cities in response to tenant complaints that they did not get their fair share of Proposition 13 savings. The rent-control issue will probably be placed on the November ballot, a direct legacy of Proposition 13.
- ***Disparities.*** Under Proposition 13, the state has been subsidizing sharply different levels of local service. Here are some county population figures and the amount of state aid each county is receiving for indigent health care: Los Angeles, 7.1 million, $115 million; San Francisco, 660,000, $24 million; Sacramento, 738,000, $6.7 million; Alameda, 1.1 million, $15.3 million; San Diego, 1.7 million, $8.9 million. Figures for school districts show a similar pattern. There are those who claim the Legislature rewarded the profligate and penalized the penurious.

Despite all these issues, governmental life goes on in California pretty much the same as it did before Howard Jarvis and Paul Gann became California's latest folk heroes. That will not be the case should California voters keep marching to the tune of the tax-cut pied pipers next June, when Jarvis II will appear on the ballot.

Division of the state tax dollar

This chart shows why local government would be hit far harder than state operations if the Howard Jarvis income-tax initiative is approved by the voters this year. Over the years, the state has been distributing an increasingly larger portion of its revenues to cities, counties and school districts. Fifteen years ago, local assistance represented less than two-thirds of the general-fund budget. Because of the adoption of property-tax-relief programs and the allocation of Proposition 13 bailout funds, the local share has now risen to 80 percent.

GENERAL FUND EXPENDITURES

	State Operations		Local Assistance		Total
	Billions	Percent	Billions	Percent	Billions
1966-67	1.06	35.7	1.91	64.3	2.97
1970-71	1.38	28.9	3.4	71.1	4.78
1975-76	2.32	24.4	7.18	75.6	9.5
1976-77	2.58	24.8	7.84	75.2	10.42
1977-78	2.95	25.4	8.68	74.6	11.63
1978-79	3.06	19.0	13.05	81.0	16.11
1979-80	3.82	20.4	14.93	79.6	18.75

Note: Local assistance figures for the last two years include Proposition 13 bailout funds.

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IN SACRAMENTO, THEY CALL THE HIGH-RANKING WOMEN IN THE BROWN ADMINISTRATION THE

'OLD GIRLS' NETWORK'

Alexis

Bryant

Days

Dooley

By Chuck Buxton

It's a simple matter of who's boss.

Alice Lytle, head of the State and Consumer Services Agency, senses a certain "macho feeling" in some men "who have to pretend they're running the show." Drawing out her words slowly and firmly, she says, "I'm running the show."

Lynn Schenk, deputy secretary of the Business and Transportation Agency, recalls one decision to overturn a male department head that "was not taken with a great deal of graciousness." But as boss, says Schenk, "If anybody is a son-of-a-bitch in the agency, it is I."

Lytle and Schenk, both attorneys, personify the young, well-educated and forceful women that Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. has brought into the top echelons of his administration.

They have banded together as Women in the Administration, an informal group which meets monthly to talk about new recruits and common problems. Occasionally they bristle when one of their own is under attack. Thirty-five top Brown woman appointees, many of whom make more than $40,000-a-year in their state jobs, last June fired off a letter to the Legislature protesting the treatment of their friend, state transportation chief Adriana Gianturco. The message defended Gianturco against the threatened loss of her salary and the "personal insults and threats" that have become part of her bitter feud with Riverside Assemblyman Walter Ingalls. Legislators ignored the letter and voted in budget deliberations this summer to pay Gianturco's salary for only six months. But the group action signaled the existence of a loose-knit communication chain sometimes referred to as the "old girls' network."

Reaching out

"It's just as amorphous as the old boys' network and it's very new," says Mary Ann Graves, who as state finance director is the highest-ranking woman in the administration. That network helped Graves get her job, and it is reaching out to women's political and professional organizations to recruit department heads, judges and members of boards and commissions.

Schenk comments: "I laughingly and half-jokingly say maybe there will be a women's club where men will be suing to get in and try to establish membership because it is a place of power, because it is a place where deals are made, where recruitments take place."

A former San Diego attorney, Schenk was hired for the second spot in the Business and Transportation Agency almost two years ago by then-Secretary Richard Silberman. Her authority expanded as Silberman, a San Diego millionaire, moved to become finance director and then a leading player in Brown's presidential campaign. That authority helps in hiring other women: "I find now, quite frankly, that when I have an opening somewhere, anywhere in the agency or one of the departments, I immediately think of my friends or associates who happen to be women," Schenk says. That kind of talent scouting led to the discovery of Graves, who was working as a Bank of America vice president when Schenk heard about her and called her to interview for head of the State Banking Department. Graves moved into the job in May and barely got started when she was elevated to the politically sensitive post of state finance director. She will be tested this

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Gianturco

Graves

Greene

Grew

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year when Brown unveils his new budget and when legislators must be told that a shrinking state surplus will strangle new spending proposals.

Controlling the central switchboard for the women's network is Carlotta Mellon, the governor's appointments secretary. Mellon has handled appointments since Brown took office in 1974, and she has conducted many of the interviews of the more than 3,500 Brown appointees, including 1,030 women.

From the beginning of his first gubernatorial campaign, Brown promised to name women to high positions. In one of the most important decisions of his first term, he boosted his long-time confidante Rose Bird from an agency secretary to chief justice of the state Supreme Court.

Just as he has done with his appointments to the bureaucracy and boards and commissions, Brown has countered male domination of the state judiciary by putting 63 women on the bench.

Women's political groups have mixed feelings about the governor. He is applauded for his obvious success in bringing women into state government, but a suspicion lingers that the commitment is political, not personal. While Brown has entrusted numerous departments to women while he campaigns out of the state for president, no woman is included in his inner circle of campaign advisers.

Carol Conti, legislative advocate for the Sacramento-based Women in Politics, points out that Brown "travels around the country only with men," and adds, "It shows he does his real decision-making about his own political career with men."

Yet, when compared with the two other presidential candidates who are swamping him in the polls, Brown does well from a feminist perspective. Cari Beauchamp, who is heading the Equal Rights Amendment ratification drive for the National Women's Political Caucus and was the group's first California state president, gives this assessment: "Many of us feel we have been screwed by Carter. No states have ratified the ERA in the past two years. So much for Carter. It's clear from appointments that Brown is in a position to have a record, and it is relatively excellent. Ted Kennedy hasn't been in a position where he's had that opportunity. But he has been a vocal supporter of the ERA."

The Brownies' image

One male member of the Brown Administration, who is lavish in his praise of several of the female appointees, describes them collectively as "groupies." He explains, "They're a little bit in awe of this guy. I call them 'Brownies.' They would do anything for this guy. Walk off a cliff. Walk on fire."

Democrat Ingalls, chairman of the Assembly Transportation Committee, was the primary target of the letter sent out by the administration women. Recognized by at least one Sacramento women's organization as "male chauvinist of the year," Ingalls insists that "Ms. Gianturco's lack of favor with this Legislature has nothing to do with her being a woman. It has to do with her being incompetent. She is thoroughly obnoxious, but I am not charming, so I don't hold that against her. I hold against her a practice of wasting the taxpayers' money" — wasted, according to Ingalls, by not spending road funds efficiently to counteract the costs of inflation.

But such opposition is the exception. In general, the arrival

Lytle

Mellon

From Alexis to West

In alphabetical order, here are 15 top women in the Brown Administration, arbitrarily defined as those making more than $40,000 a year:

Doris Alexis — Director, Department of Motor Vehicles. CHP Commissioner Glen Craig gives her a rave review: "She is just a super lady and has an excellent grasp of what is taking place." Alexis started in the department 26 years ago as a temporary clerk in the Los Angeles DMV field office. Age, 58. Salary, $46,896.

Betty Bryant — Director, Department of Economic and Business Development. Bryant's background includes a degree from Whittier College School of Law, five years in banking, founder of California Women Lawyers and community involvement in women's rights. Age, 39. Salary, $46,896.

Virginia Mae Days — Director, Department of Veterans Affairs. Days first heard about the job in 1975 from Rose Bird, then secretary of the Agriculture and Services Agency, which oversees the department. They first met while law students at UC Berkeley and then became reacquainted when Days was in private practice in San Jose and Bird was with the Santa Clara County public defender's office. Days served on the Morgan Hill city council for six years. Age, 45. Salary, $42,960.

Diana Dooley — Legislative assistant to the governor. A former co-worker says of the governor's emissary to the state's 120 legislators: "Jerry Brown has a tendency to bully people. She wouldn't put up with it. She just screamed and yelled back at him. That is the quickest way to deal with him. He always asked, 'What do you think, Dooley?' He never called her Diana." Age, 28. Salary, $42,696.

Adriana Gianturco — Director, Department of Transportation. There is something macho about building roads, and Gianturco — who stands for more trains and fewer freeways — has evoked a special kind of rage from male legislators. She took over in 1976 after coming from a job as a planning director in Massachusetts. Age, 40. Salary, $46,896.

Mary Ann Graves — Director, Department of Finance. When Graves looked for her first job after graduating at the top of her class in business school, one employer told her that if she did well as a secretary, she might have a chance to move up. Instead, she went to the Federal Reserve Bank, working for almost a decade in Washington, D.C. Then she became a Bank of America vice president and was quickly elevated from head of the state Banking Department to the state's top financial job. Age, 40. Salary, $54,693.

Deni Greene — Acting director, Office of Planning and Research. Jerry Brown has made this small department his *think tank, generating ideas on issues* from alternative energy to a North American common market. Greene is taking the place of key Brown adviser Bill Press, who is pushing an oil profits initiative. Her credentials include a biochemistry degree from Cornell, a master's in communications and another master's in engineering from UC Berkeley. She prepared environmental reports for Pacific Gas and Electric Company for five years before joining the state. Age, 39. Salary: $41,184.

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of a large number of women at the top ranks of state government has caused little discontent, at least openly. The bureaucracy is so large and the number of women now so great that their acceptance is widespread. Rumblings of dissatisfaction are directed at individuals like Bird or Gianturco, rather than at woman bosses in general.

However, Ingalls voices one underlying concern that some men share: the possibility of reverse discrimination — that women in power will reward their female counterparts at the expense of qualified men. "I personally don't believe we should hire anyone because she or he happens to have a particular skin color or ethnic background or gender," he says. "The problem is how do you slice the employment pie up if you start allocating positions by things other than competence?"

Leaving questions of discrimination and competence aside, there is good evidence that Brown's first appointments of women have created a ripple effect, as the female appointees reach out for new contacts and promote an ever-expanding circle of names and references.

For example, Betty Bryant became general counsel of the Business and Transportation Agency two years ago after leaving a job as corporate secretary for Union International Bank in Los Angeles. Half a year later, she was named to head the newly created Department of Economic and Business Development, a department set up by Brown to mollify the state's business leaders who accused him of fostering an anti-business climate in California.

"I am the one who recommended Lynn Schenk," says Bryant. She first met Schenk in 1973 while organizing California Women Lawyers. Bryant's recommendation came while she was working with Silberman, and she has reached out to the same group since then for candidates for judgeships. Schenk then recruited Graves.

Bryant admits the old girls' network is ill-defined so far. But it includes several developing professional organizations, such as the California Federation of Business and Professional Women, Women in Business in Los Angeles and Women Entrepeneurs in San Francisco.

Women judges established a formal network of their own in October when about 100 met in Los Angeles and founded the National Association of Women Judges.

In future state administrations, the women executives will have reason to remember the unprecedented breakthroughs of the '70s — and the "old girls' network" that helped to make them possible.

Myers

Nichols

Saenz

Schenk

West

Priscilla Grew — Director, Department of Conservation. She has a doctoral degree in geology from UC Berkeley and, in a 10-year academic career, was awarded seven research grants. Her department has 300 employees and handles mines, geology, oil and gas, as well as the state's open-space and soil-protection programs. Age, 39. Salary, $42,960.

Alice Lytle — Secretary, State and Consumer Services Agency. From a childhood in Harlem, she has moved up to a law degree at Hastings College in San Francisco and a job directing the state's internal building and buying business, as well as its consumer-protection duties. Age, 40. Salary, $54,693.

Carlotta Mellon — Appointments assistant to the governor. Mellon is the most important person in the Capitol for the thousands of people who want appointments to boards and commissions. She has a doctoral degree in history, has taught at several universities and has worked with Brown since his first campaign for governor. Age, 33. Salary, $42,696.

Beverlee Myers — Director, Department of Health Services. According to many observers, Myers is many things her predecessor, Jerome Lackner, wasn't. She is a health care professional, with 11 years of federal experience and another three as head of New York state's medical program for the poor. She is an efficient administrator of the restructured department and has good relations with the Legislature. But she is on a collision course with the medical establishment over reform of California's $4 billion Medi-Cal program. Age, 49. Salary, $50,791.

Mary Nichols — Chairwoman, Air Resources Board, and secretary for Environmental Affairs. An attorney, she is taking over a post that long-time Brown adviser Tom Quinn molded into one of the most politically potent in the state. Quinn now is running Brown's presidential campaign. Nichols concedes that California's industrial giants "are waiting to see if I'm going to be as tough as Tom was." Age, 34. Salary, $54,110.

Rita Saenz — Director, Department of Alcohol and Drug Abuse. Saenz moved up through the poverty-program ranks beginning in the barrio of East Los Angeles. She reviewed federal alcohol abuse programs and then went to work for the state five years ago. In 1978 she took over a newly created alcohol and drug abuse office, part of a health department reorganization. Age, 30. Salary, $46,896.

Lynn Schenk — Deputy Secretary, Business and Transportation Agency. She was the first staff counsel for San Diego Gas and Electric Company and then went to Washington, D.C. on a White House Fellowship. She worked for the late Nelson Rockefeller and Vice President Walter Mondale before accepting the deputy post at Business and Transportation. Age, 34. Salary, $47,028.

Pearl West — Director, California Youth Authority. In 1971, she was the first woman to receive the Mr. Stockton award for contributing to improvement of the city. She wrote her University of the Pacific master's thesis on problems of San Joaquin County juvenile deliquents. She has extensive community college and university teaching and program experience. She was appointed to the Youth Authority board in 1975 and became director a year later. Age, 57. Salary, $46,896. *C.B.*

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'I DON'T CARE WHAT PEOPLE SAY ABOUT ME' — DR. DALE FARABEE

The Kentucky dervish and the mental-health crisis

By KATHERINE RUSK

When Dr. Dale H. Farabee was appointed director of the state's Department of Mental Health in mid-1978, he was praised as a dynamic, dedicated crusader. He arrived in Sacramento with impressive credentials and a record of success in Kentucky, where he almost singlehandedly built a community mental health system and captured a major share of the federal funds allocated for that region.

Yet less than 18 months later, Farabee's white-knight image is shattered, his department bogged down in internal disputes and the state's mental-health program in disarray. In an unprecedented move last June, the 60-member Conference of Local Mental Health Directors cast a vote of no confidence in their state leader. Only three votes supported Farabee, even though many of the local directors had been involved in his selection 11 months before.

Farabee can hardly be blamed for all of the fiscal, political and organizational woes of the mental health system. But his leadership style clearly has not helped to bring order out of the program's continuing chaos. In addition, his critics say, he has dealt ineffectively with both the Legislature and the Brown Administration. By last summer, executives in the Health and Welfare Agency were advising him not to appear at legislative budget hearings in defense of his own mental health requests. (A proposed budget increase was cut from $21 million to $15 million.)

The bigger picture

To understand Farabee's problems requires a broader look at the mental health picture. Here are some of the factors that make his job so difficult:

• ***Organizational mayhem.*** Farabee inherited a department that has been the victim of almost constant reorganization for the past eight years. Whenever a media exposé spotlights a state hospital atrocity or some board-and-care ghetto conditions, the politicians tend to react first with rhetoric and then with another reorganization plan. Currently the department has 3,600 employees and a $456 million budget, plus a mandate to coordinate services to all of California's mentally ill.

• ***A program in transition.*** The number of mentally ill patients in state hospitals has declined steadily since 1957, from a population of 37,000 to a current 5,000 — and virtually nobody opposes this trend. The physical plants are antiquated and expensive to maintain; huge capital expenditures are required regularly to meet even basic operating standards. Recruiting staff is difficult: Turnover and vacancies abound; staff morale and quality of care are often low. And cost of care in a state hospital has reached an exorbitant rate: $313 per day.

Yet there are certain patients who probably will always require institutionalization: long-term, extremely psychotic individuals who don't respond to treatment or medications; the criminally insane, penal code violators, or mentally disordered sex offenders; persons who demonstrate seriously violent behavior; children and adolescents in special programs too expensive for the counties to provide; and patients with multiple diagnoses.

Along with reducing the hospital population, the state is moving away from other restrictive and expensive types of care, such as acute inpatient which costs as much as $250 per patient-day. Recent state legislation requires tight review and control of inpatient utilization.

To replace such high-cost programs, mental health officials now advocate "case management" — a type of service that many clinicians have wanted for years, but which is only now becoming a reality because of its potential for saving money. Basically, it is supposed to provide a network of

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cooperating community facilities to assure that each patient receives the type and quantity of care needed. Case managers are also supposed to serve as watchdogs to assess quality of care.

• ***Budget crises.*** Proposition 13 affected each county's mental health program differently. Those areas with high taxes and a large number of public service programs (such as San Francisco and Los Angeles) suffered the greatest cutbacks. Local mental health budgets were frozen at the 1977-78 levels; decreases in personnel and services occurred statewide. One county reduced its outpatient program by nearly 80 percent. Many areas lost the vital ancillary services of transportation, housing and vocational rehabilitation.

The fiscal forecasts are even gloomier. The Legislature and county governments are reluctant to expand or augment programs. Since there have been few cost-of-living escalations in county mental health budgets, despite rampant inflation, existing services must be reduced.

Ironically, the budget crunch has forced some helpful coordination of priorities. For the first time, the State Department of Mental Health, the Legislature, the Conference of Local Mental Health Directors, and the citizens and professional groups now agree on the basic goals of the mental health system: Costly state hospital and local acute inpatient care should be reduced to a minimum; day treatment and other non-medical services should be substituted whenever possible; and the programs should function as an integrated network to avoid costly duplication and recidivism.

• ***Administrative conflicts.*** Philosophical coexistence does not guarantee cooperation, however, and Farabee's brash leadership techniques have not aided the mental health coalition. He has no compunction about making enemies — "I don't care what people say about me" — and he is taking on some of the best. His headline-making clash with the State Department of Finance has been costly to him. Last May, Finance publicly rebuked Farabee for obligating nearly $4.2 million of state money to two counties without obtaining prior approval. Farabee also has fought with the State Department of Health Services, a feud that might result in the loss of as much as $19 million in federal Medicaid for the Short-Doyle/Medi-Cal program. The SD/MC is a hybrid program of local Short-Doyle services funded by Medi-Cal, operating under the authority of Health Services. The program provides inpatient, outpatient and partial-day hospitalization services for Medi-Cal recipients, but it has been fraught with abuses and compliance problems which threaten its federal support. Farabee's verbal battles with Health Services Director Beverlee Myers over these issues have been so bitter than she has submitted a proposal to do away with Short-Doyle/Medi-Cal. If this occurs, the inpatient and some of the outpatient programs would qualify for regular Medi-Cal fee-for-service funding, but most of the partial day hospitalization (day treatment) programs would not.

• ***Internal dissent.*** Farabee has also alienated several of the state's mental health constituency groups. The Mental Health Association, Citizens Advisory Council, and Mental Health Advisory Boards — all powerful entities — have not formally condemned the director but have let it be known that they do not support him.

The basic conflict between Farabee and the Conference of Local Mental Health Directors centers on the role that the conference has in leading the mental health system. The conference maintains that the Lanterman-Petris-Short and Short-Doyle Acts call for a partnership between the state and local mental health administrations, with primary control over programs at the local level. Farabee, however, feels that leadership is vested in the State Department of Mental Health. "The conference feels that the state's role is to implement whatever the conference agrees upon," Farabee says. "I want the counties' review and approval, not their veto."

The conference cites several reasons for its censure of Farabee. Members feel that, despite Farabee's assertions of power, his leadership in major areas is seriously lacking.

Making the budget also created controversy. According to several county mental health directors, the conference had offered to work with the Department of Mental Health on the budget, but Farabee refused their cooperation. Conference representatives considered the governor's budget unacceptable and went directly to the governor's office to force needed changes. Dr. J. Richard Elpers, director of Los Angeles County Mental Health, says, "We could have done much better in the budget. Nearly all the augmentations received by the mental health program were in spite of Farabee." (On the other hand, some observers believe that the conference's anti-Farabee vote, which came during the Legislature's budget deliberations, was itself detrimental to the mental health budget.)

• ***External criticism.*** The state's watchdog Little Hoover Commission reported to the Assembly in August that "our previous evaluations . . . found a continuing and deplorable failure to effect major improvement . . . Unhappily, our latest report reflects deterioration in the administration of the

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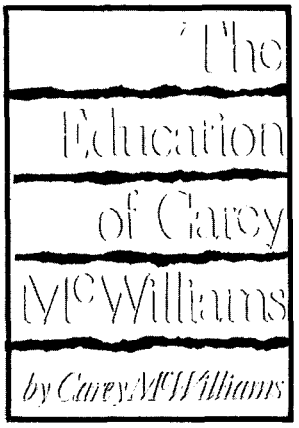

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Department of Mental Health. The new director (Farabee) has been unable to detail a coherent set of departmental objectives, priorities and commitments to local programs . . . and is usurped by the Governor and the Department of Finance."

In his own defense, Farabee says it's too early to condemn his efforts: "This year has been spent getting ready to attack the problem as far as this department is concerned — and many reorganizations have taken much longer."

Farabee has taken some steps to strengthen the mental health role of the state. He has proposed legislation that would rescind the conference's authority to veto departmental regulations. He has reorganized the Local Programs Services Section, substituting clinical staff for the fiscal-oriented analysts, so that the section will have the capacity to assess quality of local programs. The county plan process, long dismissed as a rubber stamp mechanism, has been revamped, and for the first time the department this year rejected six county plans.

• ***Departmental hassles.*** Within the Department of Mental Health staff members trade tales of Farabee's volatile temper, and many employees have left. Some who remain resent the number of persons coming into the department from Kentucky: Seven of Farabee's top staff have ties to him from his years in the bluegrass state, and many more have come as special consultants. Some key veterans in the department feel their expertise is not being utilized.

One local mental health director, no friend of Farabee's, calls him "a king in search of a kingdom." Farabee disavows political ambition, but he does want autonomy and authority within his sphere. Yet California is not Kentucky. There, virtually all power is vested in a strong governor, and Farabee had virtual *carte blanche* over the mental health system. In California — and especially within the mental health system — the Legislature and the individual counties share power with the governor.

Some members of the Legislature, notably Assemblyman Tom Bates of Oakland, have indicated a willingness to work with Farabee. (See box.) If the mental-health program is to advance in California, some measure of cooperation must be established. Otherwise, the Department of Mental Health's budget could be among the losers in the present era of intense competition for public funds in California.

The Bates Program - Patch or Panacea?

Late in 1978, after Proposition 13 produced cries of insubstantial funding, Democratic Assemblyman Tom Bates of Oakland introduced AB 3052, a bill to help counties start programs for the social rehabilitation of the chronically mentally ill in their own communities. Soon after, Bates moved into the chairmanship of the Assembly Permanent Subcommittee on Mental Health and Developmental Disabilities and assumed the role of Assembly expert on mental health — a role left vacant by the retirement of Frank Lanterman.

The Bates money ($3 million last year, an additional $9 million this year) essentially provides start-up funding for non-institutional programs, preferably for 15 or fewer persons. Programs are supposed to mesh with existing community resources and to reduce patients' dependence upon mind-altering medications. In the past, the funding policies of the federal government have discouraged development of needed community services, because they limited Medicaid funding to inpatient programs and other costly treatment patterned after the medical model. Small counties, dependent upon this federal funding, often ended up with mental health programs of 24-hour care only. As a result, skilled-nursing facilities have boomed and developed a powerful lobby.

The Bates program may be on a collision course with this industry. During last year's session, Bates tried to amend the mental health augmentation bill (AB 1438) to prohibit more than 25 percent of the money from going for skilled nursing facilities, but his move was blocked.

Also sure to be affected by Bates' plan is the board and care industry. The Commission on State Government Organization and Economy has charged that conditions in most board and care homes are "persistently appalling, with lack of adequate nutrition, sanitation, and treatment supervision; overuse of medications, abuse of patients; denial of their rights, and intimidation of residents who air their grievances in public." Indeed, some of the homes are probably as bad as the commission alleges, but others are quite good — depending largely upon the dedication of the persons who operate them.

The new Bates program may reduce reliance on such acute inpatient care, especially since non-hospital community services are cheaper to operate. The current community care situation varies widely throughout the state. Some counties have a full range of services; others have virtually nothing. Costs of local programs also vary, as do individual county commitments: San Francisco County in 1977 spent $76 per capita on mental health; Butte spent only $13.76.

Applications for Bates funding are made directly by counties or by non-profit groups. Proposals are reviewed by a Bates advisory committee; final approval and funding are at the discretion of the state director of mental health. Farabee has been supportive of the committee and, so far, has accepted all of its funding recommendations.

Yet many counties have been reluctant to jump on the Bates bandwagon. Some scoff at the notion of starting new programs and contracting with outside agencies when current county services are being cut. Others resent the state having final authority on priorities and funding; they see the program as one more attempt by the state to undermine the Lanterman-Petris-Short system of local mental-health control. Some county boards of supervisors have been reluctant to adopt Bates proposals because they fear having to continue them later with county dollars.

Now in its second round of funding, the Bates program has financed some modest, one-year activities (such as an independent living program in Sacramento County) as well as San Luis Obispo's ambitious, multiphased revamp of its mental health system. Napa County has submitted another ambitious proposal to reduce its state hospital usage, despite the area's economic dependency upon Napa State Hospital. In Yolo County, a grassroots organization of parents, volunteers and representatives from existing mental health groups have forced an umbrella organization to provide a complete treatment system in the community.

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How California was left out in the cold

By Leo Rennert

San Francisco Congressman Phil Burton was livid. The House of Representatives was rushing through a landmark bill to help poor people pay soaring utility bills. At the last minute, House-Senate conferees had socked it to California by rigging the formula with a vengeance in favor of the Frost Belt. It had been clear all along that colder areas of the country would get a special break because home-heating costs deserved special priority. But the conference had gone way beyond that and skimmed most of the money for the Midwest and the Northeast, leaving just a few crumbs for the Sun Belt. The payment formula was stretched out of shape to allow welfare recipients in the Frost Belt to get checks of up to $250 this winter. In California, where $85 allotments were expected for aged, blind and disabled recipients of Supplemental Security Income (SSI), the computers now would spew out checks of only about $44. Nationally, stipends will average $100.

SHOCKED BY THE MISERABLE treatment accorded California, Burton behaved like a caged tiger on the floor. His fury, however, was merely an expression of defeat. It was Friday afternoon. More than a third of the California delegation had left for the weekend. The White House was eager to get the bill. President Carter is campaigning in New Hampshire, where Ted Kennedy and Jerry Brown are turning the price of home-heating fuel into a major political issue. Under the bill, a poor household in New Hampshire will get an assistance check of $250 to keep from freezing before the primary. Never again, Burton fumed, would California be picked off in this manner. When Silvio Conte of Massachusetts, the ranking Republican on the Appropriations Committee, pretended to be astonished that anyone could quarrel with such a creatively contrived formula, Burton shot back: "I know the gentleman struggled with his conscience — and won."

The House approved the $1.6-billion energy-assistance package on a vote of 182 to 103. More than 1 million low-income people in California were literally left out in the cold. With 10 percent of the nation's poor, the state got 4 percent of the money. California lawmakers voted 25 to 2 against the bill. The two Californians who supported it were Democrats George Brown of Riverside County and Anthony Beilenson, who represents the poor of Beverly Hills. Sixteen members of the delegation were recorded absent. A few minutes later, the Senate concurred on a voice vote. California's senior senator, Democrat Alan Cranston, who happened to be on the floor on other business, did not object. Before the first cold snap hit New England, a smiling Jimmy Carter, with cameras looking on, signed the bill.

The California debacle, however, was not quite over. The second chapter began a few days later when the Senate considered follow-up legislation to extend the energy-assistance program for the next two years. With fuel costs reaching dizzy heights, Congress now was drafting one of the biggest anti-poverty programs since Lyndon Johnson's days. From a $1.6 billion start, outlays will hit $3 billion in 1980-81 and $4 billion in 1981-82. Again, Frost Belt senators argued the program ought to be pitched entirely to help the poor pay home-heating bills. Lawmakers from the Sun Belt countered that the government should help with all energy costs. Yes, the poor need heat; but they also are confronted with skyrocketing utility bills for cooling, cooking and running appliances. Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen waved newspaper headlines about poor Texans who died during a heat wave.

Once more, the formula battle was on. Russell Long of Louisiana, the craftiest tactician in the Senate, moved in and put together an interesting coalition. Like California, Louisiana had gotten the short end of this winter's emergency program and Long was not about to let that happen again to his state. But he also sensed that the tide was with the Frost Belt and he needed to pick up senators from that region to help him soften the windfall oil-profits tax. The deal worked. Under the Senate bill, a poor household in New York will receive $217 next year. In New Jersey, it'll be $234; in Illinois $236; in Michigan $251; in Massachusetts $260; in Maine $330; in Minnesota $365. Long cranked in an amendment to guarantee a minimum of $120 for small states like Louisiana and Mississippi. Hawaii, which is not exactly part of the Frost Belt, is assured $120 payments under the Long compromise.

In California, however, the individual support level for 1.8 million poor households next year will be a mere $73. When the $7 billion, two-year package reached the Senate floor, California stood to receive nearly 6 percent — or $417 million. That would have guaranteed every poor family in the state at least $100. When Long and the Frost Belt got through with it, California's share was whittled down by more than $100 million and the state's slice of the total package was cut to less than 5 percent.

THE SENATE APPROVED the $7 billion program on a 69-14 rollcall. Cranston, who made only a few floor appearances during the three-day debate, voted against it. "Alan did all he could," said Murray Flander, his press secretary. "We were clearly outnumbered." California's junior senator, Republican S. I. Hayakawa, voted for the bill. An aide explained that he thought this was the best California could get, adding: "Hayakawa also has to think about the nation's welfare — not just California's." In line with Long's strategy, the Senate then tucked the measure into the windfall-profits legislation. The interests of the poor thus could be used as bargaining chips when House-Senate conferences get down to making the final decisions on the tax treatment of oil producers.

The day after the first California debacle, the chairman of the state's Democratic delegation, Harold Johnson of Roseville, turned up in his district. Johnson promised he would muster the delegation behind a big catch-up effort as soon as he got back to Washington. He didn't like what happened. The conferees, he grumbled, had overlooked the fact that "60 percent of California is really in the Frost Belt." The delegation talked about the setback at its next two weekly breakfast sessions. Cranston made a rare trip across Capitol Hill to confer with his House colleagues. And Johnson appointed a committee.

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